Boston Public Library
3 9999 10521 381 1

PER. RM
No AP2.N7
V.9
1819

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW,

AND

MISCELLANEOUS JOURNAL.

Per Rm.
Y 3113.2
v.9

VOLUME NINTH.

SECOND EDITION.

BOSTON,

PUBLISHED BY GRAY AND BOWEN, WASHINGTON STREET.

1819.

343
2
NOV 10 1964

Per. Dept.
*AP2
N7
Vol. 9
1819

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW,

AND

MISCELLANEOUS JOURNAL.

VOLUME NINTH.

SECOND EDITION.

BOSTON:

PUBLISHED BY CRAY AND BOWEN, WASHINGTON STREET.

1819.

NOV 10 1924

CONTENTS OF THE NINTH VOLUME.

REVIEWS.

	Page
Bigelow's American Medical Botany	23
Brown's Life and Writings	58
Buxton on Prisons:—Prevention of Crimes	288
Dubois' Manners and Customs of India	36
Duponceau and Heckewelder on the Languages of the American Indians	179
Gorham's Elements of Chemical Science	113
Hall's Travels in Canada and the United States	135
Heckewelder's Indian History, Manners and Customs	155
Hogg's Works	1
Lambrechtsen's New Netherlands	77
Milman's Samor	26
Montgomery's Poems	276
Novanglus and Massachusettensis—Essays on the Controversy between G. Britain and her Colonies	376
Pickering on Greek Pronunciation	92
Rambles in Italy:—Foreign Travel	260
Sanford's History of the United States	356
Seybert's Statistical Annals	217
Sketch Book I. II.	322
State of Learning in the United States	240

MISCELLANY.

Happy Temperament, Essay on	206
School Education	188
Trisyllabic feet in Iambic verse	426
Wyttenbach's Preface to the Selecta Principum Historicorum:—Translation of	192—412
Quarterly List of New Publications	211—432

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

AND

MISCELLANEOUS JOURNAL.

N°. XXIV.

JUNE, 1819.

ART. I.—1. *The Queen's Wake*; *a legendary Poem by James Hogg.*
2. *The Pilgrims of the Sun; a Poem by James Hogg, author of the Queen's Wake.*
3. *Mador of the Moor; a Poem by James Hogg, author of the Queen's Wake, &c.*
4. *The Brownie of Bodsbeck; and other tales by James Hogg, author of the Queen's Wake, &c.*

WE have never given an account of Mr. Hogg's writings, though they are deserving of attention as well from their respectability as from the peculiar circumstances under which the author appeared before the public; a short notice of the Queen's Wake, which did not enter at large into its merits, is all that we find about him on looking over our preceding numbers. Indeed, he seems to have faded fast from the memory of the public, though considerable curiosity was excited by his first appearance: much of that was owing to his obscure situation and narrow means of education; from which we were surprised to see him break out with so much of the air of an author. It was natural in such a case to expect too much from him, and when he failed to satisfy that expectation, it was equally natural to place him lower than he deserved.

We were told in the publisher's advertisement to the Queen's Wake, that it was "the production of James Hogg,

a common shepherd, bred among the mountains of Ettrick Forest, who went to service when only seven years of age, and since that period has never received any education whatever."—The publisher asserted this on his own knowledge, and left the reader to reconcile it as he could with the manner and merits of the poem. This is all we know of Mr. Hogg personally; and we confess we found it hard at first to believe there was not some deception in the representation: for his works, with much simplicity, bear no marks of an illiterate mind. He seems well acquainted with Scottish history and tradition, and manages them for the purposes of poetry with sufficient dexterity and familiarity. He has not only many excellences, but some faults which we should not have expected from a man of scanty education. He shows nothing of ignorance or awkwardness, and not much of the strength of unpolished genius. Certainly, without the publisher's information, we should not have suspected Mr. Hogg of having either more or less learning than generally enters into the composition of a poet. Yet the fact as stated gave him an imposing introduction, and excited more attention than his poem would have gained by its merit. On a little reflection, however, we were less surprised at it; for even taken in connexion with the very considerable success of his attempts in poetry, it rather proves Mr. Hogg to be a man of ardent curiosity and determined character, than of any very powerful genius. There is no doubt much mind required to overleap the disadvantages of low birth and confined education; and we do right to set a peculiar value on the success of unassisted efforts. But after all, it is no proof of that distinguished genius which is necessary to accomplish much in poetry. Mr. Hogg has done what few would have had the resolution and patience to accomplish; he has acquired considerable information, familiarity with language, and even good taste without the usual helps; this is undoubtedly evidence of some superiority, for no man can overmaster his condition without it. But it does not alone prove a peculiar talent for poetry. In judging of his power of poetry, we must compare him with other poets, and not estimate him by his disadvantages.

It is difficult to determine the effect of education or the want of it on an individual surrounded by its remote influence and warmed by its reflected rays. We know how to judge and what to expect from mind in all its various stages from

savage to civilized; but it is very uncertain, and much a matter of accident, how far an individual without education may in a cultivated age partake of the refinement of the times. By education we mean, of course, that which is gained from books; and that makes a small part of the difference between men in different states of society. Perhaps it is the source, or at least the means, of almost all of it; but the melioration of manners and refinement of feelings which it produces through the whole mass, extend in a great degree to those who are ignorant of its very elements. Mere learning is very little necessary to pure poetry; it gives indeed scenery and variety of materials and imagery, but the essential part of poetry has to do with the workings of the heart. Sensibility to moral and external beauty, tenderness, enthusiasm and the creative power of association—these depend much more on the relations of civilized life, the charities of home, and the thousand ties of habit and affection that bind men to the places they have known from childhood, and the friends who grew with them and dwelt with them when their hearts were most susceptible of deep impressions and tender feelings. For this reason, the poetry of every age has a peculiar form and character, varied indeed in some small measure by the cultivation of the individual, but still bearing such general marks of a common mode of thought and feeling as to make it easy to refer it, under almost any circumstances, to its proper period. This character depends as much on the expansion and refinement of the heart as the progress of the understanding. The poetry of a savage or heroic age will always have more sublimity than pathos, more passion and adventure than sentiment or tenderness; while that of the most uncultivated man in a cultivated age will differ not so much in character as in degree of merit from that of his most learned cotemporaries. For the influence of civilization, on the mass of men, is most on the manners and relations of domestic life, and thus reaches the lowest ranks. An application of this remark to poems that claim a disputed antiquity would, perhaps, more than any thing else, assist us in determining their authenticity. The poetry of Ossian, for example, as we now have it, contains many things inconsistent with the state of society it supposes; taken together it is not the poetry of any age; and judging it by this rule, we should come to the same result as to its origin with those who have decided on extraneous evi-

dence. With much that belongs to a rude period, it has feelings that could not exist, in a nation of hunters and warriors; because such a state necessarily hardens one sex and degrades the other. We might safely pronounce that it was not the production of such a period; and on the other hand, we ought not to be surprised to find the works of a man as illiterate as Mr. Hogg is represented, partaking largely of the refinement of the present school of poetry; nor attribute that to great talent, of which much is due to the education that all receive now, however unlearned, who have relations and friends and a home.

All this however only shows that it is no wonder, and no mark of extraordinary genius, for an untaught man to write so as not to be detected in his deficiency, while his subjects are those of the imagination; and that if he avoid learned ground, he may without very uncommon talent reach the common standard of the times. But it is very rare that one without education has done more than this in poetry: those great geniuses who have outstripped the imagination of their age, and left models for those who come after them, have rarely burst out from obscurity and ignorance. The greatest name in English, indeed in any poetry, is found in no school or university; but he is an exception, not an example: Burns follows next to him, but at what a distance! and what still more "distant warblings lessen on the ear" from the many obscure poets that have been brought forward in England as curiosities, and, for aught we know of them, are still living in disappointment.

Poetry is eminently the work of genius—and genius we are accustomed to consider the most irrepressible of all things. Yet poetry is perhaps, of all pursuits, that in which an illiterate man is least likely to be original. A person of lively imagination may, without much help of education, follow in any track that has been explored by others. Once led into the imaginary world, his fancy is easily waked and filled with the images presented; he will compound and diversify them almost infinitely; but he will rarely wander into any new path. He will propose those few as models whose works happen to fall into his hands, because they excite him first; and he will hardly, without much discipline, be won from the early train of thought to which his imagination clings, as to its birth place; or aspire to more than to equal those who have

better means than himself. It is so much easier to imitate than to invent, and an ignorant or half taught man is so well satisfied with copying successfully, that he will rarely achieve more. And though we have said that the essential part of poetry is independent of all cultivation, except that of feeling and imagination, yet extensive and especially early education adds to its materials and enlarges its fields so much, that it is vain to expect its highest efforts from men in Mr. Hogg's situation. We must be content if they do well, and give them much praise for it.

We wish we could congratulate Mr. Hogg on his change of occupation as much as we can praise him for his success; but we fear it cannot be much to his advantage. He seems already, from some lines in the conclusion of the Queen's Wake, to have suffered one of the mortifications of an author; for after expressing his thanks for the assistance he had received from 'Walter the Abbot,' his model and patron, he thus complains:

> 'O could the bard I loved so long
> Reprove my fond aspiring song!
> Or could his tongue of candor say
> That I should throw my harp away!
> Just when her notes began with skill
> To sound beneath the southern hill,
> And twine around my bosom's core,
> How could we part forever more!
> 'Twas kindness all, I cannot blame,
> For bootless is the minstrel flame;
> But sure a bard might well have known
> Another's feelings by his own!' p. 217.

To 'throw his harp away' is a counsel that would rarely be well received by a poet; yet we think it was the kindest Mr. Scott could have given him. For though Mr. Hogg's works are a considerable addition to the stock of agreeable poetry, we fear he has contributed more to our pleasure than his own happiness. We are no great advocates for the superior blessings of a simple and ignorant life; the higher a man is placed by nature and education in the scale of intellectual beings, he is the more fortunate, and ought to be the more thankful. But we do believe that every one is most likely to be happy in that rank and occupation in which he

was born and bred. The highest and humblest of mankind have perhaps a pretty equal share of happiness, though adapted in kind to their respective capacities and habits. If the most refined and cultivated have the highest enjoyments, the ignorant and unambitious have a tranquillity that is to them a full equivalent. Our busy imaginations bring us all to an equality. But we are all prepared for the situations assigned us, and it is unfortunate if we quit them. We cannot think of the author before us—a shepherd of Ettrick Forest, proud of his little learning and simple minstrelsy—conscious of his superiority to his companions—with a soul awake to all the beauties of nature and familiar with her most beautiful forms —beguiling the leisure of his humble occupation with the lore of tradition and the dreams of imagination—taken from all this, and delivered over to the cares and confinement of authorship, under disadvantages that must make him feel inferior to all his new associates—without fearing that his patrons have greatly failed to consult his true happiness. We do not know much of the fate of the Bloomfields and others, who have been thus injudiciously brought before the public, but we should be much surprised if they were the happier for it. Burns was a fearful example of the effect of such a change ; no one who has feeling enough to relish his works ever read his life without deep regret ; and no one is worthy to read either who does not think his equisite poetry too dearly purchased with the ruin of his peace. But to men of meaner genius it is doubly cruel to drag them from obscurity to gratify the wonder of a moment, and thus fill their hearts with an ambition never to be satisfied. We cannot help feeling this solicitude for Mr. Hogg, though remote and unknown to us ; for a poet, if he interest us at all, interests us in himself as well as his creations. Swift has said that a historian gives immortality to his subjects, but a poet to himself ; still more do we, who live in the same age, claim a common feeling with one whose works are addressed to our hearts and fancies. It is the business of the poet to reveal his own feelings and character, and bring his soul into contact with our own ; his spirit animates all he describes. No matter what be the subject, poetry is an appeal from heart to heart, and we cannot but answer it with our sympathy. We know too that the enthusiasm and sensibility that give fervour and brightness to his compositions are working their effect on his own char-

acter and destiny; he is pouring out before us the gentleness or the bitterness of his own bosom, and cherishing for us mild affections or stormy passions. We should judge Mr. Hogg, from his works, to be amiable and susceptible, alive to all kind feelings, but easily suffering from evils of the imagination. There is a flow and gentleness of heart in his poetry that we should be sorry to see checked by the coldness of the world, or embittered by disappointment; but we fear he is less fit for the life into which he has been led than for that which he has abandoned.

The Queen's Wake, the first of Mr. Hogg's productions, except a volume of Border tales which had little reputation, and which we have not seen, is a collection of ballads founded on the traditions of the author's neighbourhood, and connected by an account of a royal Wake holden at Edinburgh by Mary Queen of Scots, on her arrival from France; before whom and her court the ballads are sung by the minstrels of the country. They are of various kinds and degrees of merit; abounding in witchcraft and all the machinery of a superstitious age. Some are in good English, and some in deep Scotch. Few of them are so told as to excite much interest in the narrative or characters, and the poetical execution is very unequal. There are in all, fine thoughts and beautiful expressions, but they are so scattered and divided by uninteresting matter, that in giving such extracts as do justice to the general character of the book, we should hardly seem doing it to the author's talent. The story of Kilmeny is decidedly the best; it is in the author's own manner, and gives the best notion of the peculiarity of his imagination, which delights in the wild, but light and soft world of fairies and spirits. It is too long to be inserted entire; but we shall select from it so as to preserve the story and present the most striking parts.

'Bonny Kilmeny gaed up the glen;
But it wasna to meet Duneira's men,
Nor the rosy monk of the isle to see,
For Kilmeny was pure as pure could be.
It was only to hear the yorlin sing,
And pu' the cress-flower round the spring;
The scarlet hypp and the hindberrye,
And the nut that hangs frae the hazel tree:
For Kilmeny was pure as pure could be.

But lang may her minny look o'er the wa',
And lang may she seek i' the green-wood shaw ;
Lang the laid of Duneira blame,
And lang, lang greet or Kilmeny come hame !

'When many a day had come and fled,
When grief grew calm, and hope was dead,
When mass for Kilmeny's soul had been sung,
When the bedes-man had prayed, and the dead-bell rung,
Late, late in the gloamin, when all was still,
When the fringe was red on the westlin hill,
The wood was sere, the moon i' the wane,
The reek o' the cot hung over the plain,
Like a little wee cloud the world in its lane ;
When the ingle lowed with an eiry leme,
Late, late in the gloaming Kilmeny came hame ;'

'Kilmeny looked up with a lovely grace,
But nae smile was seen on Kilmeny's face ;
As still was her look, and as still was her ee,
As the stillness that lay on the emerant lea,
Or the mist that sleeps on a waveless sea.
For Kilmeny had been she knew not where,
And Kilmeny had seen what she could not declare ;
Kilmeny had been where the cock never crew,
Where the rain never fell, and the wind never blew.
But it seemed as the harp of the sky had rung,
And the airs of heaven played round her tongue,
When she spake of the lovely forms she had seen,
And a land where sin had never been ;
A land of love, and a land of light,
Withouten sun, or moon, or night :
Where the river swa'd a living stream,
And the light a pure celestial beam :
The land of vision it would seem,
A still, an everlasting dream.'

'She saw a sun on a summer sky,
And clouds of amber sailing by ;
A lovely land beneath her lay,
And that land had glens and mountains gray ;
And that land had valleys and hoary piles,
And marled seas, and a thousand isles ;
Its fields were speckled, its forests green,
And its lakes were all of the dazzling sheen,
Like magick mirrors, where slumbering lay

The sun and the sky and the cloudlet gray;
Which heaved and trembled and gently swung,
On every shore they seemed to be hung;
For they were seen on their downward plain
A thousand times and a thousand again;
In winding lake and placid firth,
Little peaceful heavens in the bosom of earth.

'Kilmeny sighed and seemed to grieve,
For she found her heart to that land did cleave;
She saw the corn wave on the vale,
She saw the deer run down the dale;
She saw the plaid and the broad claymore,
And the brows that the badge of freedom bore;
And she thought she had seen the land before.'

'But to sing the sights Kilmeny saw,
So far surpassing nature's law,
The singer's voice wad sink away,
And the string of his harp wad cease to play.
But she saw till the sorrows of man were by,
And all was love and harmony;
Till the stars of heaven fell calmly away,
Like the flakes of snow on a winter day.

'Then Kilmeny begged again to see
The friends she had left in her own country,
To tell of the place where she had been,
And the glories that lay in the land unseen;
To warn the living maidens fair,
The loved of heaven, the spirits' care,
That all whose minds unmeled remain
Shall bloom in beauty when time is gane.

'With distant music, soft and deep,
They lulled Kilmeny sound asleep;
And when she awakened, she lay her lane,
All happed with flowers in the green-wood wene.
When seven lang years had come and fled;
When grief was calm, and hope was dead;
When scarce was remembered Kilmeny's name,
Late, late in a glomin Kilmeny came hame!

'And O, her beauty was fair to see,
But still and steadfast was her ee!
Such beauty bard may never declare,

For there was no pride nor passion there;
And the soft desire of maiden's een
In that mild face could never be seen.
Her seymar was the lily flower,
And her cheek the moss-rose in the shower;
And her voice like the distant melodye,
That floats along the twilight sea.'

'When a month and a day had come and gane,
Kilmeny sought the greenwood wene;
There laid her down on the leaves sae green,
And Kilmeny on earth was never mair seen.
But O, the words that fell from her mouth,
Were words of wonder, and words of truth!
But all the land were in fear and dread,
For they kendna whether she was living or dead,
It wasna her hame, and she couldna remain;
She left this world of sorrow and pain,
And returned to the land of thought again.' p. 123.

There is not much poetry in the volume of so high a character as this; but it bears marks throughout of a light and delicate imagination, and a keen sense of the beauty of nature. Whenever the author draws from the scenery around him, and peoples it with beings of pure imagination, he rises to his highest excellence. We will only add to this long extract a few passages whose merit lies in a small compass: we might take many more, for there is hardly a page that has not some fine thoughts, and yet there is hardly one that is good throughout. It is the great fault of this volume that much beauty of thought and language is wasted without producing much effect. The author seems to have had his mind well stored with the peculiar imagery suggested by his situation, but he has employed it either on unworthy subjects, or in short and intermitted efforts. His poetry has many sparkling passages and some of deep feeling, but the intervals are dark and heavy. Kilmeny, the Witch of Fife, and perhaps M' Kinnon, are the only tales in the book that are well done throughout. The connecting account of Queen Mary's court has a few good descriptions, but the volume would have had more merit in proportion to its size, if it had contained the ballads only.

The following is a fine picture of a winter morning.

'And lo, the night in still profound
In fleece of heaven had clothed the ground;
And still her furs so soft and fair
Floated along the morning air.
Low stooped the pine amid the wood,
And the tall cliffs of Sal'sbury stood
Like marble columns bent and riven,
Propping a pale and frowning heaven.' p. 59.

There is much grandeur in the third of these lines:

'Mid wastes that dern and dreary lie,
One mountain rears his mighty form,
Disturbs the moon in passing by,
And *smiles* above the thunder storm;' p. 66.

but any word would have been better than *smiles* in the last.

'The stars were wrapt in curtain gray,
The blast of midnight died away:
'Twas just the hour of solemn dread,
When walk the spirits of the dead.
* * * * * *
The lake fowl's wake was heard no more;
The wave forgot to brush the shore;
Hushed was the bleat on moor and hill;
The wandering clouds of heaven stood still.' p. 90.

'The bard was stately, dark and stern,
'Twas Drummond from the moors of Ern.
Tall was his frame, his forehead high,
Still and mysterious was his eye:
His look was like a winter day
When storms and winds have sunk away.' p. 159.

But the Queen's Wake is already well known, and we have quoted more than we intended; enough to show its peculiarities, though not enough to measure its general merit; for we have preferred selecting its beauties only, because its defects are those of tameness and diffusiveness, and not of bad taste, nor of so striking a character as to admit any particular remark.

Mr. Hogg's next publication was the Pilgrims of the Sun; a fanciful imagination of the world of spirits, in which he carries us through the planets and finds regions of reward

and punishment for the good and evil doers of earth. The design is a very old one, but it evidently gives scope to the wildest imagination and opportunity for the grandest description. It is one in which we should have thought, from reading the Queen's Wake, that the author would be most successful. In that poem he was so continually struggling

> '—— like heaving thistle down
> Hung to the earth by viewless pile,'

that we were glad to see him here fairly afloat and at liberty to follow his own fancy. The substance of the Pilgrims of the Sun is this: Mary Lee, a pure and visionary maid, another Kilmeny, while at her evening prayers in the wood, is borne away by an angel and shown all the wonders of heaven. The first part of the poem is taken up with descriptions of Mary and her companion, the manner of their leaving the earth and their journey round it. Passing by the moon,

> '—— they saw her mighty mountain form
> Like Cheviot in the setting sun—'

and then, catching a glimpse of the intervening planets, they rest on the mountains of the sun. Here is the author's heaven, and here Mary and Cela, her guide, stand looking abroad through the system of worlds:

> '——— Thence they saw
> The motioned universe, that wheeled around
> In fair confusion—Raised as they were now
> To the high fountain head of light and vision,
> Where'er they cast their eyes abroad, they found
> The light behind, the object still before;
> And on the rarified and pristine rays
> Of vision borne, their piercing sight passed on
> Intense and all unbounded—Onward!—onward!
> No cloud to intervene! no haze to dim!
> Or nigh, or distant, it was all the same;
> For distance lessened not.—O what a scene,
> To see so many goodly worlds upborne!
> Around!—around!—all turning their green bosoms
> And glittering waters to that orb of life
> On which our travellers stood, and all by that
> Sustained and gladdened!' p. 35.

They find the surface of the sun peopled with spirits just arrived from other worlds after long progression; who still journey inward toward the centre; an arrangement neither very intelligible nor convenient. After a sight of the glories of the inner heaven, they return to the surface, where Cela explains all the motions of the spheres.

'While thus they stood or lay, (for to the eyes
Of all, their posture seemed these two between,
Bent forward on the wind, in graceful guise,
On which they seemed to press, for their fair robes
Were streaming far behind them) there passed by
A most erratic wandering globe that seemed
To run with troubled aimless fury on.
The virgin, wondering, inquired the cause
And nature of that roaming meteor world.

'When Cela thus—"I can remember well
When yon was such a world as that you left;
A nursery of intellect, for those
Where matter lives not.—Like these other worlds,
It wheeled upon its axle, and it swung
With wide and rapid motion. But the time
That God ordained for its existence run.
Its uses in that beautiful creation,
Where nought subsists in vain, remained no more!
The saints and angels knew of it, and came
In radiant files, with awful reverence,
Unto the verge of heaven where we now stand,
To see the downfall of a sentenced world.
Think of the impetus that urges on
These ponderous spheres, and judge of the event.
Just in the middle of its swift career,
Th' Almighty snapt the golden cord in twain
That hung it to the heaven—Creation sobbed!
And a spontaneous shriek rang on the hills
Of these celestial regions. Down amain
Into the void the outcast world descended,
Wheeling and thundering on! Its troubled seas
Were churned into a spray, and, whizzing, flurred
Around it like a dew.—The mountain tops,
And ponderous rocks, were off impetuous flung,
And clattered down the steeps of night forever.

'"Away into the sunless, starless void
Rushed the abandoned world; and thro' its caves,

And rifted channels, airs of chaos sung.
The realms of night were troubled—for the stillness
Which there from all eternity had reigned
Was rudely discomposed; and moaning sounds,
Mixed with a whistling howl, were heard afar
By darkling spirits!—Still with stayless force,
For years and ages, down the wastes of night
Rolled the impetuous mass!"' pp. 54, 56.

After this they quit the sun, and visit the planets of lovers, warriors, poets, lawyers, priests, and beaux; of whom we are sorry to see the lawyers the worst lodged. Thence they descend to the world of punishment, and return to the earth. These things are told in a hurried and impatient manner, as if Mr. Hogg were tired of his subject, or unequal to it. He perpetually disappoints us; his beginnings promise much, but he seems incapable of any continued effort. The manner of the Pilgrims leaving the earth, and their journey upwards, are full of beauty; but the author seems at a loss what to do with them after he has carried them up, and they drop heavily to earth again. The conclusion of the poem is utterly bad. It seems Mary had fallen on the ground in a trance, when her soul departed on this strange journey, and being found by her friends was buried with great grief and solemnity. On their return from heaven, Cela leads her home; her mother is in mourning for her death, and does not know her; they then walk together to the church-yard, where she sees an open grave, and an old monk cutting the rings from her own fingers; the pain brings back her soul to her body, Cela vanishes, and the monk runs off frightened by her screams. She gets up and goes back to the house, taking her body with her this time, as a credential, and raps at the door:—

'O God! that such a rap should be
So fraught with ambiguity!'

says Mr. Hogg, and she enters and is acknowledged with joy as Mary Lee. After this she lives some time, the object of love to all the neighbouring chiefs, till there comes a young harper from 'Norroway,' who is, but how we are left to guess, the same Cela, her fellow traveller and guide. They know each other, and as this was truly a match made in heaven, they are married, live happily and have children and grandchildren. Mary dies in good earnest at last and Cela

vanishes again—All this is absurd enough: and Mr. Hogg's notions of heaven are as inconsistent and contradictory as his story. Yet there is much in this poem that redeems its faults. The author seems much more at home in this visionary imagination than in narrative. He has here embodied the fancies that in the Queen's Wake often break brightly into his uninteresting ballads; and attempted a poem of pure description and imagination, in which he succeeds well while he confines himself to it, but he fails as soon as he quits it; he is never consistent long. This is however the most original of his works; he has abandoned his model and thought for himself, and of course thought better and felt more warmly.

What gives a peculiar value to Mr. Hogg's poems is, that they are written with simplicity and the genuine feelings of the man. We feel in reading them that we are not deceived by an assumed character; we recognise them as the lonely musings of a shepherd more familiar with nature than with man. His discriptions have the minuteness, force, and naturalness of actual and habitual observation, and his associations are such as he derives from the traditions and superstitions of the forest. His early habits of life seem to have led him, like the Chaldean shepherds, to contemplate the heavens; he has looked on them with the eye of a poet, and felt as well as observed all their glorious changes—the splendor of sunset, the soft sadness of twilight, the still majesty of the stars, the mild beauty of the moon and the joy of the returning sun—and all are connected in his mind with imaginary beings or the spirits of the dead. He is an imitator, because he is familiar with a few writers only, but he gives evidence of original talent which greater cultivation would perhaps have made independent, though not very powerful.

Since the Pilgrims of the Sun, he has published but one poem, Mador of the Moor. It is far inferior to the two first and not worth a particular account. It is an imitation of the Lady of the Lake, resembling it in the general story, in the incidents, and sometimes a close copy of its descriptions; but utterly unlike it in interest and grace. It is heavily told in stanzas, and is such poetry as any one may write with due diligence.

On the whole, our opinion of Mr. Hogg as a poet is, that he has a decided claim to be called so, and that his poetry is of a high class; but we do not think him a great poet. When

he succeeds, it is in a difficult and dangerous kind of writing; but his failures are frequent and great. His defects are not all owing to his education, to which, on the contrary, we think he is indebted for the greater part of his beauties. He exhibits no mark of mind that would have been much improved by greater means of improvement; for he has given himself education enough for the indulgence of a visionary imagination, which seems his chief distinction. He has taste and delicacy, but he wants strength and consistency. His range of imagination is very limited and his images often repeated. Yet there is something wild and light in his fancies that excites, though it does not gratify us long; he seems to be weary of dull reality, and often has glimpses of something brighter and better which he cannot grasp. His favourite description, which occurs in each of his poems and is repeated in one, is that of a being, with human feelings and a little more than human power, looking from heaven upon earth, lingering between the glory of the one and the beauty of the other—tracing the winding of the streams and the shadow of the woods—linked to earth by affection and raised above it by destiny. And these are his best efforts; for mere reality with him is cold and uninteresting, yet when he entirely loses sight of it he becomes inconsistent and extravagant. Indeed his genius seems never quite on earth, and never much above it; but sports, like his own fairies, in the dim and shadowy interval. We do not expect much from him in future, though what he has done is valuable; for he has little poetry but upon one subject, and having employed that in the Pilgrims of the Sun, it cannot be repeated with advantage. It has almost always been the fortune of authors who have come forward as Mr. Hogg has done, to lose their popularity, because they gained it too cheaply; and we cannot anticipate a better fate for him. Indeed his last poem is a sad falling off, and his first novel, of which we are now to give some account, promises very little.

Not content with imitating Scott in his poetry, Mr. Hogg has ventured in the Brownie of Bodsbeck on ground still more peculiarly that author's own; if the prevailing opinion of the origin of the Tales of my Landlord, &c. be correct. He has not only adopted the manner of these popular works, but has chosen the same period, and the very events that are

the foundation of Old Mortality. In emulation of the author's fame, and in opposition to his representations of the character of the Covenanters and their persecutors, he has undertaken to vindicate the fanatics from some of the reproach cast upon them, and to show Claverhouse—or Clavers as he is here called—as he probably was before he fell into Mr. Scott's hands to be accomplished. How far he has succeeded, may be imagined from the following sketch of the story.

Walter Laidlaw is a substantial farmer, with a high church wife, a gentle and beautiful daughter Katharine, and two sons. The period at which the story commences is soon after the fight at Bothwell Bridge, in which the Covenanters were cut to pieces or dispersed by Claverhouse. A large number of them had taken refuge from his pursuit in the wild borders of Chapelhope, the farm which Walter rented of the Laird of Drummelzier. There they kept as close as possible and endured great privation and suffering; but in spite of their caution they were often seen and heard by the superstitious peasants, who attributed the sights and sounds to the freaks of bogles, fays, and brownies. At this time, in consequence of the murder of a priest of the established church and of five of his soldiers whom he had sent to apprehend the murderers, Claverhouse determined to extirpate the whigs from about Chapelhope. Before he arrives however, Walter, who is an honest man of no sect, discovers the retreat of the fugitives by an accidental encounter with two of them—he is entrusted with the secret of their hiding place and their sufferings, and for many days supplies them with food from his own house and flock. The fear of Claverhouse obliges him to conceal this even from his family, and the Brownie of Bodsbeck, a familiar spirit who was supposed to haunt the neighbourhood, is charged with plundering the pantry which is robbed by Walter himself to feed the Covenanters. This immense consumption of bannocks, with the fright of a young Kennedy, who fell accidentally into the congregation while at their midnight psalms under ground, infects the whole household with superstitious terrors. An old room in the house soon gets the reputation of being haunted from the sounds that are heard in it, and Walter himself cannot resist the belief. Katharine had been sometime suspected of holding communication with evil spirits, and her conduct now confirms her mother in the opinion so

strongly as to frighten her into a fever, and seriously alarms Walter for her soul's good. Things at last come to such a pass in Chapelhope that all the servants desert the house, except an old half crazy woman. Walter is in great trouble about his crops and his daughter; his wife is given over to superstition and helplessness, and Katharine alone is as active and useful as ever, though there is still something of mystery in her appearance and conduct.

Claverhouse arrives at Chapelhope with fifty dragoons to begin the search for the Covenanters; after insulting the old lunatic Nanny and offering rudeness to Katharine, who is rescued by the sturdy Walter, he proceeds to question his wife, his sons and shepherd; getting no information, he contents himself with branding the shepherd and cutting off his ears, and carries away Walter a prisoner on suspicion and in revenge for his resistance. Claverhouse goes on ravaging the country and shooting the Covenanters, taking Walter with him who by the advice of sargeant Mac Pherson, one of his guards who had claimed kindred with him through an interminable line of Highland ancestors, sends word to Katharine to apply to the Laird of Drummelzier for his liberation on security. Here are many pages filled with accounts of Claverhouse's bloody proceedings, which are given with an air of authenticity, but have no relation to the story in hand. It seems, however, one of the author's principal objects to set this matter right, and he cares little how he brings it in. He appears himself to be almost a believer in the assistance given by the devil to Claverhouse and his black horse:

'Often has the present relater of this tale stood over the deep green marks of that courser's hoof, many of which remain on that hill, in awe and astonishment to think that he was actually looking at the traces made by the devil's foot, or at least by a horse that once belonged to him.'

In the mean time at Chapelhope, Walter's wife engages Clerk, a church priest, to dispossess Katharine of the evil spirits with whom she was supposed to be connected. Clerk has his own reasons for undertaking it, and stipulates that for that purpose he must pass a night with her alone in the Old Room; he is accordingly locked up with her, and Katharine then finds herself in the power of a determined libertine. All the mercy she can obtain from him is a delay of an hour and a half.

'The hour of midnight was now passed,—the sand had nearly run out for the second time since the delay had been acceded to, and Clerk had been for a while tapping the glass on the side, and shaking it, to make it empty its contents the sooner. Katharine likewise began to eye it with looks that manifested some degree of perturbation; she clasped the Bible, and sate still in one position, as if listening attentively for some sound or signal. The worthy curate at length held the hour-glass up between her eye and the burning lamp,—the last lingering pile of sand fell reluctantly out as he shook it in that position,—anxiety and suspense settled more deeply on the lovely and serene face of Katharine; but instead of a flexible timidity, it assumed an air of sternness. At that instant the cock crew,—she started,—heaved a deep sigh, like one that feels a sudden relief from pain, and a beam of joy shed its radiance over her countenance. Clerk was astonished,—he could not divine the source or cause of her emotions, but judging from his own corrupt heart, he judged amiss. True however to his point, he reminded her of her promise, and claimed its fulfilment. She deigned no reply to his threats or promises, but kept her eye steadfastly fixed on another part of the room. He bade her remember that he was not to be mocked, and in spite of her exertions, he lifted her up in his arms, and carried her across the room towards the bed. She uttered a loud scream, and in a moment the outer door that entered from the bank was opened, and a being of such unearthly dimensions entered as you may never wholly define. It was the Brownie of Bodsbeck, sometimes mentioned before, small of stature, and its whole form utterly mis-shaped. Its beard was long and gray, while its look, and every lineament of its face, were indicative of agony—its locks were thin, dishevelled, and white, and its back hunched up behind its head. There seemed to be more of the species of haggard beings lingering behind at the door, but this alone advanced with a slow majestic pace. Mass John uttered two involuntary cries, somewhat resembling the shrill bellowings of an angry bull, mixed with inarticulate rumblings,—sunk powerless on the floor, and, with a deep shivering groan, fainted away. Katharine, stretching forth her hands, flew to meet her unearthly guardian;—"Welcome, my watchful and redoubted Brownie," said she; "thou art well worthy to be familiar with an empress, rather than an insignificant country maiden."

"Brownie's here, Brownie's there,
Brownie's with thee every where,"

said the dwarfish spirit, and led her off in triumph.' pp. 86, 87.

The next morning Katharine meets Clerk as if nothing

extraordinary had happened, and he through shame and fear conceals his defeat. Walter's letter now arrives, in which he charges Katharine to hasten to Drummelzier to procure his liberty. She feels the immediate necessity of complying, but there is some inexplicable tie that keeps her at home—if she stays, her father's fate is dreadfully uncertain—if she goes, ruin from some mysterious source threatens the whole family. At last she resolves to try whether she can trust old Nanny—she finds her as usual soliloquizing and singing in an incoherent strain; Katharine explains to her the necessity of her leaving home and of delegating to her the care of the familiar spirit. Nanny on this falls into such a fit of terror, that Katharine substitutes the alternative of admitting some of the fugitive Covenanters into the house every night, whose presence will control the power of the evil spirits. This information, from the mouth of one who dealt with the powers of darkness, throws Nanny into a fanatical extacy that gives some light upon her mysterious character:

'"An' *can* the presence o' ane o' *them* do this?" said Nanny, starting up and speaking in a loud eldrich voice. "Then heaven and hell acknowledges it, an' the earth maun soon do the same! I knew it!—I knew it!—I knew it!—ha, ha, ha, I knew it!—Ah! John, thou art safe!—Ay! an' mae than thee; an there will be mae yet! It is but a day! an' dark an' dismal though it be, the change will be the sweeter! Blessed, blessed be the day! None can say of thee that thou died like a fool, for thy hands were not bound, nor thy feet put into fetters." Then turning close round to Katharine, with an expression of countenance quite indescribable, she added in a quick maddening manner,—"Eh? Thou seekest a test of me, dost thou? Can blood do it?—Can martyrdom do it?—Can bonds, wounds, tortures, and mockery do it?—Can death itself do it? All these have I suffered for that cause *in this same body*; mark that; for there is but one half of my bone and my flesh here. But words are nothing to the misbelieving—mere air mouthed into a sound. Look at this for a test of *my* sincerity and truth." So saying, she gave her hand a wild brandish in the air, darted it at her throat, and snapping the tie of her cap that she had always worn over her face, she snatched it off, and turning her cheek round to her young mistress, added, "Look there for your test, and if that is not enough, I will give you more!"

'Katharine was struck dumb with astonishment and horror. She saw that her ears were cut out close to the skull, and a C. R.

indented on her cheek with a hot iron, as deep as the jaw bone. She burst out a crying—clasped the old enthusiast in her arms—kissed the wound and steeped it with her tears, and without one further remark, led her away to the Old Room, that they might converse without interruption.' pp. 94, 95.

Katharine under the escort of a shepherd youth reaches Drummelzier, and finds the laird a royalist, but a man of humanity and the enemy of Claverhouse ; he gives her a bond of security for Walter's appearance and takes other measures to procure his release. She returns home in four or five days and finds Chapelhope utterly deserted. During her absence, Clerk had been compelled by the good wife of Chapelhope to make one more trial with the spirits of the Old Room—it ended in his being carried off by the Brownie; and poor Nanny, who was a secret witness of the scene, saw in the deformed little spirit some one connected with her own fate, and lost the little wit and courage that were left her. In the mean while all is neglected at Chapelhope from the absence of the master and the terrors of the servants ; there are the corn to gather and the sheep to smear, and no one to do it. Katharine however goes on quietly, and at least, to the astonishment of all in two nights the corn is cut, and soon after the sheep are smeared with a despatch that could only be the work of Brownie. While this is going on at Chapelhope, Walter is carried to Edinburgh, tried and acquitted—on his way home, by a dim moonlight and in a wild spot, he is twice accosted by what he thinks supernatural beings and warned not to approach his house—when he arrives there he finds all dark and deserted ; but peeping into the Old Room, he sees Katharine sitting on the bed with a corpse on her knee, and the little misshapen Brownie of Bodsbeck standing over the body, busy in some horrid spell. At this sight Walter runs off to a neighbouring farm house, and bewails his dear Keatie as given over to the devil. The next morning he returns to Chapelhope and is received by Katharine with tears of affection and distress; he insists on a full confession—this she refuses a long time, but at last carries him to a wild cavern where he finds a company of the persecuted Covenanters, and among them a little deformed old man, John Brown by name, a historical personage it seems, and the husband of old Nanny, who had played the part of the Brownie, and with his companions wrought all the miracles

attributed to him, in gratitude for the protection and support they had received from Katharine. And thus the story is hurried to a conclusion.

It will be seen from this sketch that the chief interest of the Brownie of Bodsbeck must be in its characters and descriptions; and they are managed so as to make it go off tolerably well. The incidents are neither new nor striking. Indeed what surprises us most in Mr. Hogg's works is that he is content to imitate so servilely; our readers will easily trace several parts of the story to their source in the late Scotch novels; and there is not a character of any consequence that has not its prototype in some one of them: Walter is a new edition of Farmer Dinmont, Nanny is very like Elspeth, the Brownie is drawn from Elshender the Black Dwarf, the Goodwife of Chapelhope is a better sort of Mause Headrigg, and John Hay, as far as he is any thing, reminds us of Cuddie—the character of Katharine is more original but faintly marked.* Claverhouse is here less of the hero and more of the ruffian than in Old Mortality. He has little to do with the course of the story, which might have gone on well enough without him; but the author does not seem so much stepping out of his way, when he quits his story to tell the traditions of his persecutions of the Covenanters, as to be following the main design of the work. He has given us many anecdotes on this subject that are still current in the neighbourhood, but he has not woven them ingeniously into his tale, nor communicated to them interest enough by their connexion with his characters to produce much effect on the imagination. In settling the merits of the controversy they have the force of so much traditional testimony, but they have acquired no more hold on our feelings then if they had been told as cold matter of history. Scott, on the contrary, has blended with the ferocity of Claverhouse so much of chivalry, and opposed his lofty spirit and manners so skilfully to the fierce fanaticism and vulgar superstition of the Covenanters, that we are hardly able to do justice to either. Judging however as well as we are able, we should think Mr. Hogg had given,

* Since writing this article we have seen a paragraph from an English publication asserting confidently that the Brownie of Bodsbeck was written long before the publication of the Tales of My Landlord, and suggesting that Mr. Hogg is the author of at least a part of one of them; both these suppositions seem extremely improbable.

though a far less spirited, a more just account of the temper of those times. But however good be his cause, he fights against hopeless odds; and if he should write half a dozen such works as this, and collect all the traditions of Claverhouse's cruelties and vulgarity, we should still remember him as the handsome, dashing hero of Old Mortality.

We lay aside Mr. Hogg's books with much respect for him; for his success under his disadvantages is very praiseworthy. There seem however to be insurmountable difficulties in the way of his being a powerful or a popular writer. His poetry is better than his prose, and in the lightest kind of that he might succeed very well; but even a long ballad seems to exhaust his force. We may say with certainty he will never be a good novel writer; he has neither enough invention nor knowledge of the world. But he has so much good feeling that we cannot help again wishing him a better employment.

ART. II.—*American Medical Botany, with Coloured Engravings. By Jacob Bigelow, M. D. Mem. Amer. Acad. Arts and Sciences, American Philosophical Society, &c. Rumford Professor, and Lecturer on Mat. Med. and Botany in Harvard University.* Vol. I. Part II. Vol. II. Part I. Boston, Cummings & Hilliard, 1819.

THE appearance of the third number of Dr. Bigelow's work has completed one half of his present inquiries on the medical botany of this country. We have in a former number offered an analysis of the first half volume of this work, and avail ourselves of the opportunity afforded by the publication of the third, to say something of its progress, and of the character under which it has advanced. It was natural for the author when arrived at this part of his work, to look back on what he had done, and while reviewing his progress, to say something of the prospects of his undertaking. 'It gives him pleasure, he remarks, to state, that the reception of his work, in all parts of the United States, has exceeded his anticipations, that the subscription is already more than sufficient to defray the expenses of publishing, and that its regular increase renders it probable that the whole edition will be taken up at an early period.'

There are two views under which this work may be regarded, as a specimen of *art*, and as a *scientific publication*. The engravings of this work are executed by a peculiar method, and one which we believe is at present but little known, at least among us. In his advertisement to the second volume, the author informs us that 'the style of engraving is wholly new in this country, and is one which has been successfully attempted only by the first artists in France.' The peculiarity consists, we understand, in this, that the engravings are printed in colours applied to the copper plate, instead of being printed in black by the usual method and afterwards coloured by the hand. The second and third numbers, and likewise all of the first except about two hundred copies, are executed in this manner, the first plates having been re-engraved to adapt them to the new method. This art, which, though not wholly new, appears in this instance to be original, is the result of a series of experiments made under the direction of the author, by Messrs. Annin & Smith, engravers in this town. Considering the difficulties which attend the process, the result appears to us very successful. The plates we think are not all equally good, yet in most of them there is a delicacy of finishing in the lights and shades, which it would require great labour of the pencil bestowed on each copy, to produce in the common manner. There is besides in these plates an entire absence of black outlines and veins, which are found in engravings, so that the figures in this work resemble original drawings or paintings, rather than engraved copies. There is also an advantage arising from this method, that an unlimited number of copies may be produced exactly alike, and varying far less than copies separately painted by the hands of different persons, as they must necessarily be in large works executed in the old manner. In this method a sufficient quantity of colour may be prepared at once for the whole impression of a plant. When the colours are simple and not much blended, a single plate may be employed; but when they are complicated, two or more plates must be used containing different parts of the plant. In the latter case the process of impression must be performed once for every plate. A certain degree of skill which can be acquired only from practice is necessary in the engraver, and a dexterity of the same kind is requisite in the pressman. The work of the press is much

slower than in ordinary copperplate printing, yet more rapid than the usual mode of washing in colours.

Printing in colours has been at various times attempted in England, and on the continent of Europe. It has however been abandoned, we are told, on account of the difficulty and expense attending it. In France, it has recently been revived with satisfactory success. The elegant work of Michaux on the forest trees is partly executed in this manner, the lines and shades being printed in colours, and the surface afterwards washed with the same. The only finished works which we know, in which the surface, outlines, and shades are said to be produced together from the copper-plate, are those of *M. Redouté*, whose large and splendid *livraisons* on the *Liliaceous plants* and the *Roses*, are among the most perfect specimens of botanical imitation which any country has produced. It appears that these magnificent publications have employed their author since the year 1796. A late number of the *Journal des Savans* informs us that the method of *M. Redouté*, which they consider as having produced the most perfect specimens of botanical iconography, consists in the application of various colours to the surface of one copperplate, by modes peculiar to the author, and which he proposes to make public at a future day. The reviewers object to the old method, that it is attended with an inequality in the copies and an irregularity in the light and shades; and that the black lines which do not exist in nature prevent the imitation from being faithful. From these objections they consider *Redouté's* works as exempt, at the same time that his plates have all the softness and finish of original paintings.

Although it appears that the French process is hitherto kept a secret, there can be but little doubt that the principles on which the American work is executed are virtually the same. No greater inferiority exists than is naturally to be expected in a country where the arts are in infancy. In comparing the earlier with the later specimens of the American Medical Botany, we think a regular improvement is visible, and confidently look forward to future numbers for a perfection in this method of engraving, which will be creditable to the country.

We have heard it remarked that the new engravings in this work want the finished appearance, the strongly defined outline of other botanical drawings. In these engravings the

colours themselves of the leaves, flowers, &c. constitute their outline. This want of a terminal or marginal line to leaves and flowers, of a different colour from other parts of these portions of the plant, is in exact conformity to nature, which has given them no such outline, and it must be because we have determined what plants are, from drawings, and not from nature, if we consider this naturalness of Dr. Bigelow's figures a defect instead of a beauty. The accuracy with which this mode of engraving may be made to imitate different parts of a plant, is very apparent in the plates of *Ictodes fœtidus* and *Panax quinquefolium* in the third number.

The mechanical execution of other parts of this work deserves notice and commendation. The type is remarka ble for its clearness and beauty, and no pains have been spared to render the work elegant and correct.

Regarded as scientific publications, the second and third numbers of the American Medical Botany sustain the character of the first. The interest of the author remains unabated, and in the numbers under notice, he furnishes novel and valuable information about the medicinal properties of a number of our plants.

ART. III.—*Samor, Lord of the Bright City, an heroic poem, by the Rev. H. H. Milman, M. A. Fellow of Brazen-nose College, Oxford, and Vicar of St. Mary's, Reading.* New York, C. Wiley & Co. 1818.

IT is only in an age like the present that such poets as Mr. Milman are produced. Place genius where you will, in an age barbarous or civilized, aided by the discoveries of others or without them, and it will distinguish itself in some form or other; it weaves its web from materials within itself and needs but little external aid to effect its purposes. But it is only when civilization has advanced, the means of education been generally diffused, and a taste for reading cultivated, that a new source of pleasure, from a chaste and classical style, and smooth and flowing versification, is opened; that the labour of the mere scholar is appreciated and his productions valued. Poetry may thus be considered either as the work of genius, self-dependent, availing itself of these advantages as auxiliaries, or of taste and learning, using

them as principals. The poets of the latter class, it is true, cannot thrill us with horror or make us wild with joy, but they can keep our feelings in gentle and delightful play, can fortify virtuous resolutions and implant holy affections; immortality may be beyond their grasp, but they can gain some reputation, and do some good for the age in which they live.

In this class of scholar poets, the author of the work before us takes his place, and he has laboured diligently to obtain it. One of the greatest faults of his poem arises hence. We see the hard working of powers tasked to their utmost, through the whole of it. There is but little free sporting of fancy or feeling; few light and beautiful sketches, but much cold, hard drawing. He sometimes gives us, it is true, a strikingly beautiful and living description of the natural scenery, but when he comes to the emotions of the soul, his language is tame and bombastic, or like them, is perplexed and intricate. To describe the soul tossed by the storm of passion or swelling with the grandeur of its emotions is the province of genius, and poets like Mr. Milman should be careful of intruding. It is his misfortune that he has not rightly estimated his strength and the nature of his talents; that he will not be contented to write well. He has adopted the rule of Tacitus to direct his efforts, but forgets that the faults are equal, of soaring above his subject or grovelling beneath it; and often, after toiling up a long and dizzy height, he vanishes into air, like the Saxon deities he describes, out of our reach and sight.

Another fault, which springs naturally from the difficulty of composing, so evident throughout the whole production, is the want of connexion in the general course of the work and even in single sentences. Parts, which should have been cemented together closely, are tied with a pack-thread or left loose and jarring against each other. Without the least preparation, we are hurried from one passage to another, with which it is entirely unconnected or most inartificially joined. Six or seven lines introduced into sixty or seventy different places would improve the poem wonderfully.

But a charge which falls more heavily than either of these is the paucity of moral remark, of general conclusions, of any thing that we can carry away with us for the regulation of conduct or as food for reflection. We rise from reading the work, as from hearing music, the impression of which

lasts only during the performance; there is nothing that remains with us; no enlargement of views or elevation of thought; not one feeling altered or confirmed. If it were not for evidences of something better in another production, (his tragedy of Fazio,) we should say there was something radically wrong in this; a faint perception of moral beauty or a mind which could not turn aside from relating a story to apply its moral.

There is little that any of the personages say or do which lends any light to the development of their characters. The poet says such an one is brave and merciful or cruel, and he seems to consider this as sufficient; and we conceive that there is here another very serious fault. It is impossible that we should feel strongly interested in characters, of whom we know so little. He has, indeed, told us more about Samor than about the others, but he is so far removed from human weakness and above human excellence, that we cannot easily sympathize with him. We should have our hopes and fears excited, there should be something in himself to conquer, some lingering trace of earthly feeling, at least, in the hero of a poem, to excite our sympathy or to serve any purpose of morality as a model. There is an exception to the above remark in the character of Rowena. It is well conceived and described. Her aspiring and determined spirit forms a fine contrast to the exquisitely beautiful and delicate frame it inhabits. With strong passions and boundless ambition, she is alternately the slave and the mistress of her feelings; and the woman who now 'stoops to be a queen,' at another time stands trembling, weak and irresolute before the object of her love.

The story does not admit of any description of domestic life, and we think it unfortunate for Mr. Milman that it does not. Want of feeling is not one in the number of his numerous deficiencies as a poet; and we must look to feeling, rather than to imagination, for the description of the heart filling sensations of the family fireside.

The poem opens with an eulogy on the author's country, and in the very first sentence we meet with that indistinctness, which from bad arrangement of words and the very worst punctuation we have ever met with, in almost every page, compels us to read some sentence two or three times in order to understand it. In the structure of the verse, there

is a close imitation of Milton; it is, however, more involved, and crowded with vague epithets.

> 'Land of my birth, oh Britain! and my love,
> Whose air I breathe, whose earth I tread, whose tongue
> My song would speak its strong and solemn tones
> Most proud, if I abase not.'

Hardly have we turned the leaf when we come to the following.

> 'Forth from the gates of Troynovant hath past
> King Vortigern; the Princes of the Isle
> Around him; on the walls, for then (though now
> Scorn bounds her mighty wilderness of streets,
> And in magnificence of multitude
> Spread, and illimitable grandeur,) walls
> With jealous circuit and embattled range
> Girt Britain's narrow capital.'

It subtracts very much from the interest we might otherwise feel, to meet continually with such passages as these. In reading a poem, we wish to indulge our feelings or to elevate our thoughts, not to exercise our powers of research. The highest success of poetry and perhaps the test of its excellence, is to give an impetus and direction to the imagination, rather than to lead it; to make us feel satisfied and proud of ourselves, to set the mind in a glow from the voluntary exertion of its powers. But there is some difference between opening the door for the reader to wander in the gardens of imagination, and setting him at work to find it.

Vortigern, Sovereign of Britain, who had invited the Saxon princes, Hengist and Horsa, to repel the invasion of the Caledonians, comes forth from the gates of Troynovant, (the ancient name of London,) to welcome them, just returned from victory. At the feast which is made to celebrate it, Rowena, the daughter of Hengist, a being

> 'too proud
> For less than absolute command—too soft
> For aught but gentle amorous thought,'

glides into the hall to pledge the health of Vortigern; for

> 'in our ancient Saxon faith,
> Ill bodes the joyless feast, where maiden's lips
> Pledge not the wassail goblet.'

Awaking from the trance in which his senses were fixed, the king learns that she is the daughter of Hengist. A secret and animated conversation ensues, which ends in Vortigern's taking the crown from his head and placing it on that of Hengist.

> 'to Kent's high king
> A health, a health to Vortigern's fair bride,
> The golden haired Rowena,'

is proclaimed by the king and echoed by the Saxons. Samor, the Lord of the Bright City, (the ancient British name for Gloucester,) refuses to acknowledge his title and denies the right of Vortigern to bestow it. He quits the hall and is followed by all the noblest of the British princes. In a subsequent conference with Vortigern, just as he promises Samor to cast the Saxon off, Rowena passes by. She is beautifully described.

> 'Have ye a sense, ye gales, a conscious joy
> In beauty, that with such an artful touch
> And light ye float about her garment folds,
> Displaying what is exquisite displayed,
> And thinly scattering the light veil where'er
> Its shadowing may enhance the grace
> * * * * * that thus ye love
> To lose yourselves about her, and expire
> Upon her shape or snow white robes?'
> * * * * * * *
> 'Alone she came, alone she went not on.'

The British princes, disgusted with the infatuation of Vortigern, elect another sovereign of Britain.

The third book opens with the meeting of the Saxon princes to deliberate on their future course. They are joined by Caswallon, a traitorous British prince, who proposes to Hengist to unite with him for the conquest of Britain, and after its achievement, 'on some lone eminence,' to decide by single combat who should reap the undivided fruits of victory. The result of the conference is that Hengist and Caswallon cross the ocean to demand of the Saxon deities the fate which awaits their enterprise. In describing their voyage, Mr. Milman gives us the following passage. After several attempts, we abandoned, in despair, all hopes of understanding it.

> 'From dizzy notions of infinity,
> Vague sense of ever during sights and sounds,
> Inactive through the body, the free spirit,
> Vagrant along the illimitable void,
> Perils uncouth and rich uncertainties
> Ranges in restless round, plucks treasures rare,
> That gem the caverns of the hoary deep,' &c.

One would think that he intended to give his readers a pretty definite idea of 'dizzy notions' by such an exemplification of them. In several other passages, as well as in this, he seems to have strung words together, trusting to chance that some meaning might creep in among them. It is strange that, with the talents he must be allowed to possess, he should write such stuff as this.

The Aurora Borealis is beautifully described, and once more makes us wish that Mr. Milman would exert his powers on some subject, where our admiration would not so soon be succeeded by weariness or a harsher feeling. If he would but select one which did not so often carry him beyond his depth, some one connected with our every day experiences, which would require no highly wrought description of feeling, we are confident that he might produce something more worthy of him than 'Samor.'

> 'Twas midnight, but a rich unnatural dawn
> Sheets the fixed artic heaven; forth springs an arch,
> O'erspanning with a crystal pathway pure
> The starry sky, as though for Gods to march,
> With show of heavenly warfare daunting earth,
> To that wild revel of the northern clouds;
> That now with broad and bannery light distinct,
> Stream in their restless wavings to and fro,
> While the sea billows gleam them mellower back;
> Anon like slender lances bright upstart,
> And clash and cross with hurtle and with flash,
> Tilt in their airy tournament.'

Arriving at their port of destination, they mount the chariot of the oracle, drawn by reindeer, and after journeying a long time over wastes of snow,

> 'Tremblingly flashed the inconstant meteor light,
> Showing thin forms, like virgins of this earth,
> Save that all signs of human joy or grief,

The flush of passion, smile or tear, had seemed,
On the fixed brightness of each dazzling cheek,
Strange and unnatural.'

They pass from consulting these deities, as men usually do from asking advice, 'each of fixed fate nought heeding but what fed his fierce desires.' Hengist collects all the nations of the North, and with an immense fleet, they set sail for England. On their arrival, they find Horsa driven from the kingdom of Kent to the island of Thanet. They make proposals of peace to the British princes, assembled to oppose their landing, which are accepted, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Samor, and a feast is made on the plain of Ambri to celebrate and confirm it. The description of the procession and feast is one of the few instances in which Mr. Milman attempts any thing highly wrought without running into extravagance.

'The banqueters, like Gods at nectar feast,
Sit sumptuous and pavilioned; all glad tones
From trembling string or ravishing breath or voice
In clouds of harmony melt up to heaven;
O'erwhelming splendor all, of sight and sound;
One rich oppression of eye, ear and mind.'

A signal is given and the British princes are all massacred, with the exception of Samor, who escapes. He hastens to his own Bright City of the Vales, but the enemy had been there before him. He finds his daughter just expiring, and learns from her, that his wife and children had been murdered by the Saxons. He has now nothing on earth to live for, but vengeance and the hope of restoring freedom to his country. He wanders over Britain.

'Samor! the cities hear thy lonely voice,
Thy lonely tread is in the quiet vale,
Thy lonely arm, amid his deep trenched camp,
The Saxon hears, upon some crashing helm
Breaking in thunder and in death.'

Rowena, already enamoured of his fame, meets him as she is sailing towards her castle, and on promise of protection he accompanies her, in the hope of rousing Vortigern. The unsuccessful interview between them is well drawn. As he is about to quit the castle, Rowena makes a passionate declar-

ation of her love, which he firmly and almost loathingly rejects. The description of the state of her mind, after he had left the castle, is admirable, and gives a more decided indication of talent, than any one passage in the poem.

> 'Slowly retired the queen; she called around
> Her slaves, her handmaids; arrogant, their looks
> Seemed to confront her; eyes, aye wont to shrink
> Before her gaze, now seemed to pry and pierce
> Her deepest soul's recesses, and she blushed,
> Even in her plenitude of scorn. They stood
> Trembling before her wayward mood, yet seemed
> Mockeries in theirs; solitude she sought,
> Yet solitude found none; things senseless took
> Stern cognisance of all her acts, her thoughts;
> Eyes hung the empty walls, weak, laughing sounds
> Of triumph o'er her shame pervaded wide
> The tranquil air; all, with herself at league,
> Shook scorns upon herself.'

In his wanderings, Samor meets with Merlin, 'Snowdon's dark Prophet,' and the events of English history pass in prospective view before them. Alfred is thus ridiculously described

> 'Holy as new anointed Christian Priest,
> Valiant as warrior burnished for the fight,
> Fond and extatic, as love dreaming bard,
> Solemn and wise, as old philosopher,
> Stately, as king-born lion in the wood.'

Charles the First, as a king,

> 'That with misguided sceptre, strove to check
> The powerful stream of freedom.'

At the side of this stream of freedom, flowing through Britain,

> 'a tree sprung out,
> With ever mounting height, and amplitude
> Aye spreading;'
> 'And from that mystic river, Freedom, flowed
> A moisture like the sap of life, that fed
> And fertilized the spacious Tree.'

> 'I saw the nation's graft their wasted trunks
> From those broad boughs of beauty and of strength,
> And dip their drained urns in that sacred stream.'

It is well enough to write such a description of one's country, which none but countrymen are to read; but for strangers to see one nation set forth as possessed of every excellence, and all others as drawing from her whatever of good they may have, produces a reaction of feeling that will deny even what should be granted.

Once, and once only, does Samor venture near the scene of his former happiness; he passes thence to the plain of Ambri where 'murther quaffed his glut' from blood of British princes. We would refer the reader to these as among the happiest specimens of Mr. Milman's poetry. He will meet here with an unexpectedly natural description of feeling; not, as elsewhere, with turgid declamation and laborious searching for high sounding and striking epithets.

But the destiny of Samor is about to change, and the hour of retribution to the Saxon is at hand. Leagued with the sons of Constantine, Samor raises an army and excites the whole country to rebellion. Mr. Milman thus describes the effects of the burst of freedom which electrified the Island.

> 'In all the Isle was flat subjection tame,
> In all the Isle, hath Freedom reared her, plumed
> With terror, sandaled with restlessness:
> Her march like brazen chariots, or the tramp
> Of horsemen in a rocky glen; and in her rear
> Dead men in grisly heaps, dead Saxons strewn
> Upon their trampled white horse banners.'

The armies meet and the conflict is begun by the child, Arthur, whom, the poet just before told us, his mother had 'held up on high.'

> 'a single steed
> Burst furious from the British line, with flight
> That had a tread of air, and not of earth.
> Fierce and direct he whirled to the hot charge
> His youthful rider. Upright sate the Boy
> Arthur.'

After a long and not very animated battle, Horsa is slain, and Hengist is taken prisoner and executed. His daughter,

Rowena, having in vain interceded for his pardon, remains to witness his execution and dies in beholding it.

Such is the story, and excepting the total want of interest in the relation, it seems rather the account of a novel than a poem. Mr. Milman is not master of his subject, but is constantly obliged to conform to it. He has enough of heart, but not enough of mind for it; this constantly breaks and checks that stream of feeling which would flow so beautifully in a humbler channel. Tameness or extravagance are the faults to which it naturally leads him. His cast is always beyond the mark or short of it; he never 'rings the stake.' He seems to be constantly spurring on his powers to the task; and if they sometimes seem animated, it is rather the plunging of restlessness than the free spring of activity and vigour. There is a great deal of good versification, but very little of good poetry. He seems to have some of the accomplishments of a poet, but to want many of the essentials. This gives such a mixed character to his work, that it is difficult to pass a general opinion upon it. It can easily be proved by extracts, to be very good or singularly ridiculous. Its faults are those which spring of course from the selection of a subject above his powers,—indistinctness, tameness, bombast, evident hard labour, great inequality of execution, and a want of nature throughout. We are not willing to take this poem as a specimen of Mr. Milman's powers. The want of interest, arising from the unskilful direction of talent rather than from the want of it, is the great fault of 'Samor.' The subject does not admit of the exercise of those powers which Mr. Milman can exercise to most advantage. A humbler theme would suit him better. The description of natural scenery and domestic character would tame his soaring spirit and bring him to meet us on equal ground. He must meet us, for he has not the all-powerful energy of genius to transport us from the world of our own thoughts and feelings to one of his creation.

Art. IV.—*Description of the Character, Manners, and Customs of the People of India; and of their Institutions, Religious and Civil. By the Abbe J. A. Dubois, Missionary in the Mysore. Translated from the French manuscript.* 2 vols. 8vo. Philadelphia, M. Carey & Son, 1818.

We learn from the preface and advertisement to this work, that M. Dubois was a French Abbe, who escaped from one of the fusillades of the revolution, fled to Hindostan, and has since remained in the interior of that country vested with the character and zealously discharging the duties of a missionary. By the irreproachable purity of his conduct, the relinquishment of such of his European habits as were peculiarly offensive to the Brahmans, and the adoption of their customs in the many instances in which they are innocent or salutary, he inspired that proud and isolated sect with such respect and confidence that he was received into their society and permitted to join their domestic circles upon terms of intimacy and friendship.

All this is exceedingly repugnant to the accounts we have uniformly received of the Hindu character. The Abbe himself speaks repeatedly of their hatred and contempt for all foreigners, particularly for Europeans; their close reserve, their jealous care in guarding, from the sacrilegious touch of a stranger, the veil which hangs upon the mysteries of their religion, their science, and even of their domestic discipline. But he tells us that he surmounted these obstacles, invincible as they appear, and his assertion is corroborated by the testimony of so many gentlemen residing on the spot, secured by their high rank in the company's service from all danger of deception and without motives to deceive, that we could not withhold our belief. The work itself, the result of a long possession and improvement of such singular advantages, is the property of the India Company, purchased of the author by the advice of Sir James Mackintosh and Lord William Bentinck, and has been pronounced by them, if the editor may be believed, 'to be the most comprehensive and minute account extant in any European language of the manners of the Hindus.'

After such an imposing array of bold assertions supported by the authority of great names, we fear our readers will think it was our own fault that we have not found it as

instructive as we expected. Comprehensive enough it certainly is, for the author treats of every thing in India and of most things out of India, and a great part of his book describes as accurately the customs of North America,—or any other nation under the sun,—as those of Hindostan; minute enough it is too, for every page is filled with details of nothings without number, but we wish that the Abbe's attention had been confined within narrower limits, that he might have examined his subject more closely, and as to his exactness, it is of that sort which would measure the length of an Idol's nose, but forget to remark how long it has been worshipped, or from what nation or superstition the god whom it represents was originally received. We had a right to expect much information from a book ushered into the world under such auspices, and we are disappointed in finding it a collection of anecdotes of all sorts, scraped together from every corner of the earth.

About 300 years before Christ, Seleucus severed from his Syrian empire the western provinces of India and restored them to their native princes; the province of Bactria soon after became independent, and from that period until the Mahometan conquests we know almost nothing of the internal history of Hindostan. The connexion between that country and the western parts of the world was almost entirely dissolved. But the productions of India have in every age been too abundant, and too grateful to the wants and wishes of man to remain disregarded at home, and the commerce which Solomon won from the Phœnicians by the conquest of Idumea, has successively enriched Egypt, Rome, Venice, Portugal, Holland, and England. In the early ages of Europe it was not commercial enterprise alone which India attracted, it was not the commercial adventurer alone who visited her fertile plains. Pythagoras drew from the stores of intellectual wealth, which were then so pure and abundant there, the learning he has veiled under such impenetrable mystery; Lycurgus sought there the maxims of political wisdom: and Plato found on the banks of the Ganges that system of metaphysics, which grew so luxuriantly amid the groves of the academy and put forth its leaves and spread its branches abroad until they covered and obscured the rising light of Christianity. During the dark ages and since their termination until very lately, the literature of India has been

wholly neglected, and since it has again become a subject of study and research, inquiries into its origin and character have been prompted by a wish to ascertain from what quarter the science of Europe is derived, rather than with the hope of enlarging it. Whatever were the motives from which these inquiries arose, they have been prosecuted with ardor and success, and we shall venture to offer our readers some remarks upon the mythology and institutions which have excited so much interest among learned men in Europe.

The most striking circumstance in the character,—religious or political,—of the Hindus, is its astonishing inconsistency. When we read about this people, of their religion and their superstition, their institutions, whose pervading energy sometimes diffuses life and health through the whole mass of society, and sometimes spreads over the land like a pestilence, chilling the spirit of enterprise and industry and ambition, but whose mingled wisdom and folly have been woven into so firm a texture, that they have stood unharmed against the tide of time, when all things about them have felt its changing or destroying influence—we seem to be walking amid splendid ruins, where 'decay's effacing fingers' have been long at work upon features of beauty and magnificence. We see around us the scattered fragments of the temple, and we look among them in vain for the perfect proportions which graced the original structure; the fallen column has lain there so long, the memory of its builder has passed away, and we can no longer read upon the ruined altar the inscription which would tell us to what god it was erected.

The unity and infinite perfection of the Deity is announced in their Vedas—not ambiguously or by implication, but openly and directly and without reserve; yet the same book which acknowledges that there is one God, the uncreated maker of all that is, who exists eternal and alone, will in the next or the same page, relate the birth, parentage, education, and actions, good and bad, of deities without number; and prescribe a thousand unmeaning or mischievous ceremonies to their honour. All nature is replenished with their gods; the earth, the sea, the air, the skies are crowded with deities, before whose unutterable deformity the "gorgons and hydras and chimæras dire," of other superstitions become models of grace and beauty. There appears to be a sort of double doctrine among the learned Hindus; the distinction of

esoterick and exoterick truths, which was so jealously guarded in the schools of Crotona and Athens, may still be traced in the metaphysics and theology of that country where it probably originated. When the son of a Brahman receives, at the age of eight years, the triple cord which invests him with the rights and privileges of his paternal cast, the father delivers to him the following precept. 'Be mindful, my son, that there is one God only, the master, sovereign, and origin of all things. Him ought every Brahman *in secret* to adore. But remember also, that this is one of the truths that must never be revealed to the vulgar herd. If thou dost reveal it, great evil will befall thee.'

Many of their Pundits are Theists in the strictest sense of the word. Our author gives a curious account of the opinions held by the Vanaprastha Brahmans, or ascetics, as he calls them. They are required by their rules of discipline, to devote the greatest part of the day to the contemplation of Para-Brahma; that is, of God. The result of their meditations, we will give in the Abbe's own language.

'"God," to use the words of the philosophers of India, "is an immaterial Being, pure and unmixed, without qualities, form, or division; the Lord and Master of all things. He extends over all, sees all, directs all, without beginning and without end." Power, strength, and gladness dwell with Him. This is but a slight sketch of the lofty terms in which the Hindu writings, after their philosophers, describe the Para-Brahma or Supreme Being. But it is painful to see these sublime attributes unworthily profaned, by prostituting them to the false gods of the country and blending them with innumerable other attributes, as ridiculous and absurd as the fables to which they are attached. The earliest of these philosophers maintaining ideas of the God-head so pure, in all probability never strayed into the absurdities of polytheism and idolatry. Their successors, however, adopted them by degrees, and insensibly conducted the nation, whose oracles they were, into all the extravagance in which we see them now involved.

'These philosophers soon separated into two parties, apon the nature of God and that of the universe. Up to the present times, each has its numerous partizans. The first is called Dwitam, the sect of Two; that is to say, those who hold the existence of two beings or substances, namely, God and the world which He created, and to which he is united. The other sect is called Adwitam, not Two; meaning those who acknowledge but one Being,

one substance, one God. The professors of the last doctrine, designate the foundation of the system, by the two technical expressions Abhavana Bhava-Nasti; *from nothing, nothing comes.* They maintain that creation is an impossibility, and that on the other hand, a pre-existing and eternal substance, is absolutely chimerical. From these premises they infer that whatever we imagine to be the universe and the various objects which appear to compose it, is nothing but a pure illusion of Maya.'

Our author does not seem to be aware that while the Hindu ideologists deny the existence of matter, they admit that the unceasing operation of divine energy causes the appearances, the aggregate of which we term the universe. He appears to deduce from their system with some of the philosophers by whom it is professed, consequences which its European advocates would not allow.

'I know not whether these philosophers deduce from their pernicious system, all the consequences which naturally flow from it. Some of them I know have done so. I have read in a Hindu book, an extract from the celebrated poem of the Bharata, the author of which introduces on the scene the god Sivah instructing his wife Parvati in familiar discourse. He tells her plainly, amongst other things, that the most abominable crimes, such as adultery, fraud, and violence, are mere sports in the eye of Divinity.'

The most celebrated metaphysical system of Hindostan is that of the Buddhists, which the Brahmans reject and the Jainas, a very singular sect, have adopted; our author gives the following account of it.

'This is nothing else than the pure materialism, which Spinosa and his disciples have endeavoured to pass for a new discovery of their own. The materialists of India appear to have long preceded them in this doctrine and have drawn from it the same practical deductions which their European brethren have done and which have been propagated in modern times with such pernicious success.'

We wish our author had described this system rather more particularly. His book has not inspired us with much deference for his philosophical accuracy or acuteness; and we are somewhat inclined to doubt the identity of the Buddhist system, and that of Spinosa. The notions of the Indian sect have been supposed by some whose opportunities for

investigating them were quite as great as those the Abbe enjoyed, and whose ability to improve these opportunities was much greater, to resemble the tenets which are found in the books of the Cabalists rather than those of Spinosa and his disciples. Nor is the distinction nugatory, for it will rescue the Indian system from the charge which may with justice be brought against the materialism of Spinosa—that of resulting necessarily in practical atheism.

They agree in asserting that the visible universe is formed of the same substance as the Deity, but while Spinosa regards the world and the Deity to be strictly identical in every respect, to be in fact convertible terms, the Buddhist believes the first to be an emanation from the last.

Now the consequence of Spinosa's doctrine is, that we ourselves, as well as whatever we see, or hear, or feel, are but so many different modifications of the universal God, that no one thing in existence has a stronger claim to the character of Deity, than any other thing, and that there can be no other God than the aggregate of all these several modifications, the sum of all the parts, which form the universe. It is evident that there can be no approach, no assimilation to such a God as this. He cannot be a retributive God; for act upon us, as he will, he can but variously modify parts of himself. He cannot, therefore, be an object of devotion. Now the Buddhist, if our opinion of his system be correct, holds not that all things are God, but that all things are from him, of the same nature with, but not necessarily coexistent, nor absolutely identical with God. This is implied in the word 'emanation,' as whatever issues from a thing must leave behind it that from which it came, and they then must be in some respects distinct from each other. Accordingly the Cabalists admit, that there is a God, and something which is not God; a world 'extra deum' which he has made, still upholds, and may destroy, and which, during its existence, is a theatre where his justice and his mercy may find full scope for their exercise. The Sooffees of Persia, who are supposed to hold the same tenets as the Buddhists of India, illustrate the nature of the soul by comparing it to a portion of sea-water enclosed in a bottle and suspended in the midst of the ocean, and the pious Sooffee is instructed to anticipate when the bottle is broken, a reabsorption into the essence of his parent God as the reward of virtue and the consummation of

happiness. This system therefore, whatever may be its defects, cannot be said to take from the principles of morality and religion the sanctions they derive from their divine origin. We have said that we do not much regard the Abbe's opinion upon this subject, and have given that of authors whom we consider much better authority; but he quotes a saying of one of this sect, which shows that some of them at least are not disposed to take advantage of the distinctions which exist in their favour. 'The truly wise man, according to them, is he who seeks after all the pleasure of sense, and who believes in nothing he does not see; all beyond this is a chimera.' It is thus that reason and ingenuity, when disposed to minister to vice and passion, go to work the same way amid the rice-fields of Hindostan and in the cities of cultivated and enlightened Europe.

The popular religion is a system of polytheism, whose yielding and hospitable spirit opens wide the doors of its sanctuary to gods of all sorts, without inquiring too closely into their origin or office. A religion which collects all the deities it can find, and never relinquishes any, must accumulate in time a numerous stock. The sum total of those whose claims to divinity are admitted by the Brahmans amounts to three hundred and thirty millions; at the head of this motley crew stand Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva; the famous Trimurti, Triad or Trinity, which has of late years been discussed by the learned in Europe with almost as much zeal as ever burned in the bosoms of its Indian worshippers. These three personages are distinguished as to their offices as follows.

'The Hindus understand by the word Trimurti, the three principal divinities whom they acknowledge; namely, Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva. It signifies three powers, because the three essential energies of creation, preservation and destruction, severally pertain to these three gods. The first is the leading attribute of Brahma, by whom all thing were created. The second belongs to Vishnu, the preserver of all that exists, the third to Siva, the destroyer of what Brahma creates, and Vishnu preserves.'

They are sometimes represented by three idols, and quite as often by one with three heads. The Vedas and Puranas (the Hindu scriptures) are full of expressions like these. 'As God is immaterial, he is above all conception; as he is invisible, he can have no form; but from what we behold of his

works we may conclude that he is eternal, omnipotent, knowing all things and present every where.' Their favourite mode of illustrating the mystery of the Triple God is by comparing him to a lamp with three lights, which when united lose their individuality and form but one. So close is the resemblance which the Hindu Trimurti bears to the Platonic Triad, and the Christian Trinity, that many who have studied the subject with attention, have not scrupled to assert that they both owe to it their origin, the first directly, and the second through the first.

Our limits will not allow us to discuss this question,—for which our readers will no doubt be thankful, especially as we can give them the opinion of Sir William Jones—which as far as regards the Trinity, he has unequivocally pronounced, and which is worth all we can collect from other sources. Speaking of the missionaries, who encouraged the followers of Brahma to become their proselytes, by assuring them, that the Hindu Trimurti and the Christian Trinity were one and the same doctrine, he says, "it is difficult to determine whether folly, ignorance, or impiety predominates in this assertion." An English author, who has written a great book about India, has laboured to establish this similarity with some ingenuity but more industry; he is compelled as one of the consequences of his system to identify our Saviour with the destroying god of the Hindu mythology. The following is the opinion of M. Dubois, in which he is by no means singular.

'I am persuaded that they were originally, in the Hindu idolatry, nothing else than the three most obvious elements of the earth, the water and the fire. These were the real gods whom they originally worshipped; and we shall soon find that the same worship, though not so visible, still subsists at the present day.

'Earth is the element from which all the productions most necessary to man proceed. From her bosom are collected the grain and the plants which serve for his nourishment. She is the universal mother of all living creatures. She is therefore the first of the gods; she is Brahma. But without the seasonable visitation of the rain and the dew in a land hot and without water, the labours of the husbandman would be fruitless, and the soil now so exuberant in its increase would become barren and deserted. Water is the great preserver of whatever the earth engenders or makes to germinate with life. Water, therefore, with all its blessings, has become the second god of the Hindus

and holds the honours of Vishnu. But what could the sluggish earth, even with the aid of the water, so ungenial and cold in its own nature, have effected in their sterile union but for the fire, the principle of warmth which came to vivify and quicken the mass. But fire not only invigorates all animated nature, and develops every thing to its utmost perfection, but it also accelerates dissolution and decay, because from corruption, nature is restored and germinates afresh. Fire, then, has contributed as much as the other elements, and equally deserves the general adoration and worship which have bestowed on it the title and honours of Siva.'

Our author seems to imagine that he is the author of this explanation, but he is in an error, as it has been known for many years. Most of the writers in the Asiatic Researches have attempted to elucidate this singular mystery, and many different solutions may be found there, and this which the Abbe claims among them. Another supposes it to signify the warmth, light and fire of the sun, and a third the wisdom, goodness and power of God.

Sir William Jones, to whose opinion upon this subject we have already alluded, thinks the three deities refer to the creating, preserving, and the destroying faculties of the true God, who was known and worshipped in India at a period so distant, that no distinct accounts of it have come down to us. His theory supposes that the Brahmans of those days, perceiving that the people whose devotion it was their office to direct, were unable to elevate their minds to the contemplation of God in his essence, endeavoured to prevent their aberration into grosser idolatry, by teaching them to adore the Deity in the operations in which he principally manifests himself, and thus presenting to them the object of their worship in a more tangible form. Many passages in the oldest Sanscrit books favour this hypothesis. This mysterious deity is described there as 'a tree from which have sprung three branches,' but they have grown so luxuriantly, and spread so wide, they can hardly be traced home to their parent stock, and their fruit has been folly and absurdity.

To Brahma, the first place is universally allowed, and as an appendage to his high rank, he was endowed at his birth with the singular privilege of wearing five heads; at present his allowance is reduced to four, as he lost one in a violent contest with Siva, whose wife, Parvati, he had ravished. Soon

after this misfortune he married his daughter, Saraswati, whom his paternal and conjugal affection permits to reside in one of his mouths. Which of the four is thus occupied, is not stated. As the author of all things, he is supposed to have created man.

'The four great casts of which the world consists, namely, the Brahmans, the rajahs, the merchants, and the cultivators, were formed and instituted by him. The first and noblest sprung from his head, the second from his shoulders, the third from his belly, and the last from his feet. This is the story of the creation of man most generally adopted, although some give it another term. They say that Brahma, in his first essay to create a human being, made him with only one foot, which not answering, he destroyed his work and formed the next with three, but the third being more an incumbrance than a help, he destroyed this model, and finally resolved upon the two legs.'

Vishnu ranks next to the creator; his worship extends throughout Hindostan, and he seems to have the greatest number of followers; they are divided into several sects or classes, each of which has its secrets, its sacrifices and its peculiar rites. The most numerous of all is that, whose members bear impressed upon their foreheads as a symbol of their devotion to Vishnu, the mark of the Nama, which is formed of three perpendicular lines usually connected by a horizontal one and forming a trident. We have seen that the peculiar province of this deity is to redeem and preserve, and his brother gods, without excepting Brahma himself, have frequently required his assistance, and had he withheld it, must have been destroyed by the rebellious spirits. When the duties of his office oblige him to leave his heavenly abode in the Swarga and reside for a time upon the earth, he has generally found it convenient to assume the form of some animal. In choosing whom he should select as most worthy to receive this high honour, he has displayed a singular taste. In the four first arataras or incarnations, he became a great fish, a tortoise, a boar, and an animal half man, half lion. The fifth, the Abbe shall relate.

'The emperor Bali, the giant, was performing the sacrifices of the Yajna; and if it had been accomplished, the whole of the princes of India would have perished and he would have been absolute lord of the country. But before it took effect, Vishnu

the preserver descended from his throne, and presenting himself before the tyrant in the shape of a Brahman dwarf, entreated of him the humble boon of a bit of ground of the bigness of three prints of the sole of his foot, merely that he might sacrifice upon it. The giant smiled at the request, and very readily granted it, and immediately Vishnu resuming his own mighty form, covered with one footstep the whole earth, with the second all the space between the earth and the firmament. "And where," he demanded, "shall I place the third?" "On my head," replied Bali, who saw too late with whom he had to treat, yet believed he might preserve his life by submitting to the discretion of Vishnu. But the unrelenting god made his third step on the head of the giant, and crushed it flat; then hurled down to hell the monster who had been the oppressor of the earth.'

The tenth Aratara will transform the preserver into a horse, and it will be far more important in its consequences than any of its predecessors. 'The Hindus,' says M. Dubois, 'expect it with the same ardour as the Jews looked forward to the Messiah.' Sir William Jones thinks that the progress of Christianity in India has been much retarded by an opinion which is very prevalent among the Hindus, that the advent of Christ is but another incarnation of Vishnu.

Siva comes next in order; this god is generally presented to his worshippers clothed with some terrible form which may best accord with his attributes; and reminds all who approach his altars that it is his office to destroy. The ashes which cover his body, his long hair fantastically painted and curled, his eyes distended with perpetual rage, venomous serpents twisted around his ears instead of jewels, all combine to render his appearance unutterably horrid. His idols are always of gigantic proportions, and it is said are admirably contrived to inspire terror. But the most curious fact related about this deity is, that his father-in-law is neither more nor less than a mountain.

'Siva had great difficulty in obtaining a wife, but having made a long and austere penitence at the mountain Parvata, that lofty eminence was so affected by it, as to consent at last to give him his daughter in marriage.'

The Hindus display as singular taste in the residence of the wives of their gods as in their parentage. Brahma we have seen carries his in his mouth, and the helpmate of Siva,

which it cost him so much trouble to obtain, constantly rides upon his head, enveloped in the enormous folds of his bushy hair.

We have spoken of the principal explanations of the Trimurti. There is yet another origin assigned to it by some of the learned of Europe. They resolve it into the three principal deities of the Greeks and Romans. According to them, Brahma is no other than Jupiter in an Indian dress. Vishnu has been copied from Neptune, and the prototype of Siva may be found in Pluto. But this hypothesis rests upon a slight foundation; there are but few circumstances which would suggest or establish the identity of the first and last pairs of deities; between Vishnu and Neptune a much closer resemblance exists. The name, by which the Hindu god is principally invoked, signifies 'one that sojourns in the waters.' He is usually represented quietly asleep upon the surface of the sea when no emergency requires him to awake and exert his saving power. There is no trident in his hand, nor are tritons swimming around him, but his devotees wear the symbol of the first impressed upon their foreheads, and the loud and frequent blowing of the sea-horns which forms so conspicuous a part of the rites celebrated in his honour, may remind us of his attendants who surround the Grecian lord of the sea, sounding their shells as he floats upon the waves.

There are, besides these three principal divinities, others of less importance, but yet of some note. Krishna, usually called by Europeans the Indian Apollo; like him he has nine attendant maidens; but instead of joining with them in the dance, he twists their bodies into the form of an elephant upon which he rides; Indra, the god of the air, and Camdeo, the god of mystic love, and many, very many more.

It was said of Egypt, before the superstitions of that country had given way to Christianity,—when every nook and corner of the land was occupied by some deity,—that it was easier to find there a god than a man. This remark may be applied with at least equal justice to modern Hindostan; but we trust that few of the inhabitants of that country are such abandoned miscreants as most of their gods would be if they came upon earth without undergoing thorough reform. They are much like the things which fill a child's fancy, when he wishes to be big enough to walk over trees and houses, and

to do what he likes with every body; they are men, ugly and deformed men, seen through a magnifying glass, which makes every thing huge, disgusting and monstrous. Represented as constantly indulging the worst passions and vilest propensities of human nature, they rarely exert the omnipotence which all alike possess, but for the perpetration of enormities which it would be equally impossible for human powers to execute, or for human depravity to contemplate without horror.

We will give a few instances—Brahma is entitled to notice first. After relating an anecdote with which we shall not pollute our pages, the Abbe goes on;

'And it is because he violated the most sacred laws of nature, as many believe, that he is without worship, without temples or sacrifices; that no one in short performs any exterior ceremony of religion in honour of Brahma.

The last incarnation of Vishnu was for the purpose of committing a disgraceful crime—of Siva we cannot find an anecdote decent enough to be quoted—Krishna was obliged to be concealed when an infant, to avoid a giant who threatened his life.

'He escaped under the disguise of a beggar. He was reared by persons of that cast, and soon exhibited marks of the most unbounded libertinism. Plunder and rape were familiar to him from his earliest years; he had sixteen thousand wives, and fearing their innumerable children would unite to deprive him of his power, he murdered them all.'

Vighneswara is another of these monster gods.

'His worship is universal, his image is every where to be seen; in the temples, in the choultries, in places of public resort, in the streets, in forts, by the side of streams, and tanks on the highways, and generally in all frequented places. He is taken into the houses; and in all public ceremonies he is worshipped the first of all.'

The following anecdote accounts for his being so great a favourite. The god Rumara, with whom he was always quarrelling, happened one day to cut his head off, which occasioned, we cannot tell why, some grief to his mother, and much indignation to Siva, who swore to repair his loss, by

the head of the first creature he could find lying with his crown to the northward. This creature chanced to be an elephant, and his head, trunk and all, was accordingly placed on the neck of Vighneswara. Parvata was terrified when she first saw the proboscis, but by degrees became reconciled to it, and soon after, wishing to secure to her son the pleasures of domestic life, proposed to him to marry, and asked him what sort of a wife he should like. The son, who had long indulged for his mother a warmer affection than their mutual relation warranted, replied that he should wish to marry such an one as herself.

'Alarmed at his answer, she exclaimed in her wrath, "a wife like me! go then and seek for her, and never mayst thou marry, until thou findest exactly such an one." From that time, though Vighneswara has diligently visited all places frequented by women, he has never found one to suit his condition in the curse; or rather, no woman will unite with so unseemly a husband.'

The Bhagavata is a sort of poetical history of their gods and goddesses. Our author thus describes it.

'In obscenity, there is nothing that can be compared with the Bhagavata. It is nevertheless the delight of the Hindus, and the first book they put into the hands of their children when learning to read; as if they deliberately intended to lay the basis of a dissolute education.'

One great difference between the Hindu idolatry and the paganism of Athens and Rome is, that the populace in India appear to recognise no other gods than the idols to which they offer sacrifice—the plant or animal which gives them food—the consecrated stream or forest; while the inhabitants of those cities worshipped the lord of the ocean and not the element which obeyed him; fountains and forests were sanctified to them by the naiads and fauns whose dwellings they were; they burnt their incense and offered their sacrifices to the present deity, and not to the place of his habitation.

'The idolatry of India is of a grosser kind, at least in many circumstances. It is the water itself which they worship; it is the fire, men or animals; it is the plant, or other inanimate object. In short they are led to the adoration of things from the consideration of their being useful or deleterious to them. A woman adores the basket which serves to bring or to hold her necessaries, and offers sacrifices to it; as well as to the rice-mill and other imple-

ments that assist her in household labour. A carpenter does the like homage to his hatchet, his adze, and other tools; and likewise offers sacrifice to them. A Brahman does so to the style with which he is going to write; a soldier to the arms he is to use in the field; a mason to his trowel; and a labourer to his plough. "Sailors, fishermen, and others who frequent the sea and the rivers, never fail, upon stated occasions, or as circumstances require, to hold a solemnity on the bank, where they sacrifice a ram, or other suitable offering. But, to whom do they offer this worship? To that god, they will answer, pointing to the water of the sea, or of the river or pond near which they stand." The homage and worship which the Brahmans offer directly to the elements, may be remarked in several of their daily rites.'

Familiarity, says the proverb, breeds contempt; and never was the maxim more happily illustrated than among the Hindus. It is no uncommon thing to hear the Brahmans, the priests consecrated to God, speak with the utmost contempt of the objects of their worship. They enter the temples without the least symptom of respect or reverence for the deities who reside there. Indeed, they generally prefer those places for their quarrels and contests.

'Their faith and their devotions are sometimes excited by human interests and motives. They exhibit a great reliance on those gods, through whom they get their bread; but where they have nothing to gain, or where they are not observed by the profane, they seem to care little about them.' It is very edifying to observe the profusion with which they heap their curses upon 'the scoundrel gods,' who send them too much rain; the women, too, scold with great unction on similar occasions—'may the gods perish! my clothes are all wet,' is a very temperate expression of their wrath. Loud and violent thunder, which is as apt as most things to inspire respect and reverence for the Deity, is answered by them with some such expression as this, which it would seem they use not more in sorrow than in anger—'the rascally gods are dying.'

The insatiable superstition of the Hindus has added to the countless multitude of their gods, an equally numerous race of deutas, or evil genii—so called, in opposition to the *good* spirits whose characters and offices we have described—temples are built for their residence, and victims are slain upon their altars, but the ingenuity of their worshippers, fertile in

horrible absurdities as it is, has been exhausted upon their gods; and they have endeavoured in vain, to people their hell with monsters more terrible and disgusting than the inhabitants of their heaven. Nor do the rites and sacrifices by which they would express their gratitude for the protection of their deities and supplicate its continuance, differ much from those by which they deprecate the wrath, or propitiate the favour of their demons. They have giants, too, cast in the same mould with their gods and devils. Some of the anecdotes by which they would illustrate the size of these last mentioned personages are amusing.

'The giants of India are represented to be of a size so enormous, that, in order to wake one who had fallen asleep, they were obliged to make several elephants walk over him at once; and, even then, it was a long time before he was sensible of their weight. The hairs of his body were like the trunks of the largest trees. At one time, in a skirmish with some gods with whom he was at war, he fixed a rock upon each hair, and advancing into the midst of his enemies, with a sudden twirl of his body, he made the huge stones project around him, with such fury as to overwhelm them all.

'The giant Ravana, the same who ravished the wife of Rama, that is to say, of Vishnu, personating that prince, had ten heads. The palace which he possessed in the island of Ceylon, of which he was king, was so prodigiously lofty, that the sun passed every day at noon under one of the arches.

'All the giants were extremely debauched, and of a very malevolent disposition; particularly those that were Brahmans; for some there were of that cast, and they were the most wicked of all.

'Sometimes they devoted themselves to an ascetic life, but with no view of reformation. The giant Rasmeswara supported a life of penitence so long as to compel Siva to grant him at last the power he had long and earnestly solicited, of reducing to cinders all persons on whose heads he might lay his hands. The ruffian was willing to make the first experiment of this miraculous power upon Siva himself. The hapless god knew not whether to fly from the pursuit of the giant. But Vishnu, the Preserver, seeing his distress, came up to his relief, and saved him, by artfully engaging the giant inadvertently to raise his hand to his own head; by which means he was consumed to ashes. With stories like this, the Hindu Mythology is filled.'

The hypothesis which regards the ancient Brahmans as the

instructers of Pythagoras, is, we think, much confirmed by the account which our author gives of the Hindu doctrines of the metempsychosis; especially as he appears to be wholly ignorant of the conclusions which naturally follow from the facts he states, and consequently cannot be supposed to have related them from an undue fondness for the theory they support. There is much reason for supposing that a belief in the metempsychosis was once universal. It has left deep and visible traces in the superstitions of every country. Charlevoix has discovered them among the Indians of South America. As this system was once so widely spread, its present prevalence among the Hindus is not sufficient to prove that Pythagoras learned it in their country; but there is one important peculiarity in the Brahman tenets, which we believe can be found no where else but in those held by Pythagoras. It is well known that the Italian philosopher taught that the transmigrations of souls after death were retributive, and would reward or punish according to the preponderance of virtue or vice during life. This was the use he made of this doctrine,—it was in this light he appeared to the world to regard it,—and it was for this purpose he adopted it. But it is equally well known, that this was his exoteric doctrine; and differed much from the esoteric truth he taught in the inmost recesses of his school to the favoured few who were admitted there. To them he declared that the migration of the soul from one body to another was produced by a physical necessity, and was consequently exclusive of all moral consideration whatever.

The reason why he concealed this doctrine from the world is obvious; he was a lawgiver as well as a philosopher, and his esoteric principle was directly opposed to the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments, which he with every other ancient lawgiver, according to the famous maxim of Warburton, made the foundation of their political institutions. Now we know that this distinction was introduced in the west by Pythagoras;* and every system in which it has

* A passage of Diogenes Laertius, which Warburton quotes to prove that Pythagoras instructed the initiated by the physical necessity of transmigration, proves also that this doctrine was unknown in Europe until it was taught by him.

"ΠΡΩΤΟΝ δὲ φασὶ τοῦτον ἀποφῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν ΚΥΚΛΟΝ ΑΝΑΓΚΗΣ ΑΜΕΙΒΟΥΣΑΝ, ἄλλοτε ἄλλοις ἐνδεῖσθαι ζώοις." L. viii. § 14.

since appeared may be traced back through a longer or shorter course to the schools of Crotona. In the eastern countries we believe no traces of it have been hitherto discovered; but the Abbe's account of the Hindu metempsychosis affords a strong presumption, if it does not prove, that it still exists in India. We must believe that he does not intentionally deceive, for we have no right to charge him with an invention or a misrepresentation which, conscious as he certainly is of the conclusion to which it leads, would be perfectly gratuitous. There is throughout his relation, an indistinctness, a confusion, exceedingly unlike the precision of premeditated falsehood. He is evidently telling something which is too singular to be disregarded, but which he does not comprehend. He talks of two sorts of metempsychosis occasioned by different causes, one being retributive, rewards the good and punishes the bad; the other is caused by a necessity which arises from something, he cannot tell what, from the defilement produced by eating animal food or the violation of the Hindu ritual law in some other similar point. One inference alone can be drawn with certainty from what he says upon the subject; and this is, that the peculiar and esoteric system of Pythagoras, has been long known to, and professed by the Brahmans.

There is yet another hypothesis which we think an acquaintance with the Hindu mythology strongly disposes one to believe; we mean that which refers all religion to direct revelation from its object.

The religious institutions from the Indus to cape Comorin, while they differ from each other in some particulars, yet are too much alike, have too many features in common, to permit us to doubt for a moment that they are members of one family. Nor does it seem less easy to ascertain the parent stock from which they have derived their common origin; we do not mean that it is a matter of no difficulty to ascertain from what spot they came;—the question never has been satisfactorily answered, and perhaps never will be, whether the smoke of incense and sacrifice first ascended to the true God from the altars of India or Egypt. Most of the records of the world's infancy are lost or illegible, and it is almost too late to inquire, whether we may stop at the banks of the Nile or the Ganges, or must journey on still further towards the rising sun, before we come to the land where that lumi-

nary was regarded, not as a god, but as the image of him whose insufferable brightness it is still more difficult to contemplate. But it has become difficult to deny that there was a period when the inhabitants of the earth were acquainted with the truths, and acknowledged the authority, of a pure and spiritual religion; proofs and evidences of this fact have lately accumulated fast. Recent researches into the Hindu antiquities have made it probable, we had almost said certain, that the Indians of a remote age knew and worshipped a Spiritual God, when the truths of religion were not veiled or obscured by the mysteries and fables of superstition, and neither required nor received the adventitious aid of temples, or altars, or burning incense. That the unaided energies of a human and finite intellect could have discovered truths so far above human comprehension, experience has not taught us to admit; and it is surely against reason to believe that what they had succeeded in acquiring, they should not have been able to retain; but if we suppose that a pure and unsullied system of religion was delivered to the weakness and depravity of humanity, its progress and result are perfectly natural. Contending through countless ages, with the whole nature of man, polluted by his passions, disfigured and degraded by his mad imaginations, contracted and distorted by the proud weakness which would hold within its grasp truths of infinite extent; we cannot be surprised that religion has lost so much of its original effulgence; the wonder is rather, that we yet see it so distinctly through the thick clouds which have gathered about it.

The distinction of casts which forms so prominent a feature in the Hindu institutions is well known; but it is curious that no two accounts of this singular circumstance are exactly alike; the number, name and offices of the casts vary with every different author. The most ordinary arrangement and that which seems to have existed longest, divides the people of India into four principal tribes. That which holds the first place, and claims a decided pre-eminence over the rest, is the cast of Brahma or the Brahmans; the second is that of Kshatriya or rajas; the next rank is that of Vaisya or merchants; and the last that of Sudras or cultivators of the soil. These original divisions are again subdivided into so many lesser casts, that it is very difficult to ascertain the privileges and employments of each, or the number of the whole;

they are very different in the different provinces, and some which are well known in one part of the country cannot be found in another. The Brahmans, who by their priestly office have the charge of the sacred books, intrust each of the Vedas to its peculiar cast; there are also many casts comprised under the generic name of Rajas, and merchants, but the Sudras distance all competition in this respect. Our author never could learn with precision their number or peculiarities, but it is proverbially repeated among them that there are eighteen chief divisions in this tribe, and one hundred and eight others. Most of the professions, trades, arts and employments which are necessary to the existence of civilized society, are confined to the Sudra tribe; and as the natural customs and prejudices have interposed an insurmountable barrier between every trade or profession, each tribe being restricted to the exercise of one alone, we cannot be surprised that the Sudras amount to five sixths of the population of India. These employments descend from father to son; and in no case whatever can the son renounce the occupation of his paternal cast, or exercise a profession to which he cannot derive a right from his ancestors. Some of the casts must have been driven to great extremities in their search after peculiarities to distinguish themselves from all others, if we may judge by those they have adopted. 'In the east of the Mysore there is a tribe known by the name of Morsa, Hokula, Makula, in which, when a mother gives her eldest daughter in marriage, she herself is obliged to submit to the amputation of the two middle fingers of the right hand, as high as the second joint: and, if the mother of the bride be dead, the bridegroom's mother must submit to the ceremony.' There is another cast of the coast of Malabar, the ladies of which enjoy the singular privilege of being unrestricted in the number of their husbands. There is another cast, of whose profession we should say something more than that it is singular,—the tribe of Calaris, or robbers, who exercise their birth-right without any sort of disguise, which they deem wholly unnecessary. Their princes enjoy the title of chief robbers, and claim with great earnestness the hereditary honours which have descended to them through a long line of ancestors.

Innumerable peculiarities equally rational and useful as those we have mentioned, distinguish the different casts; nor

are these extravagances more singular than the unbounded toleration with which they are mutually regarded by the different sects who practise them; especially when it is contrasted with the furious and implacable hatred excited among them by the spirit of party upon other occasions. We may observe here, as well as in every other part of their varied character, the inconsistency which forms its most prominent feature.

There is another division of the tribes more general than any we have mentioned, which reminds us by its character and consequences of the blue and green factions whose contests shook so often the cities of Rome and Constantinople. The greatest part of the Hindu nation is divided into two casts; known by the name of the right hand and left hand. It is of comparatively modern origin; but most of the Hindus belong to one or the other *hand*, and the contests and insurrections it has occasioned among its partisans, have often raged with extreme violence. Gentlest of all creatures, timid under all other circumstances, here only the Hindu seems to change his nature, and when these parties are thoroughly excited against each other, the terror of a military force, which in India is so omnipotent, is hardly able to allay the storm. A late commotion of this kind, in which both parties drew out their armies in battle array, was occasioned by one of the Chakili tribe, who at some public festival placed red flowers in his turban, which the Pariahs insisted that none of his cast had a right to wear.

No punishment is so severe to a Hindu, as that of exclusion from his cast. He cannot descend into one of an inferior rank when degraded from his own, but the Brahman and the Sudra under such circumstances are alike outcasts. Severed from the world, they are thrown away like a diseased member; they become at once objects of horror to those who loved them best; the pollution of their touch can be effaced only by the most rigorous penance. When they sink under the weight of the curse, neither wife nor child will pour them out a drop of water, to assuage their death-thirst, and the corpse must rot where it first fell. One would think that such a terrible punishment would be reserved for the greatest crimes, but it appears to be inflicted upon very slight occasions.

'Another incident of this kind occurs to me, which was rather of a more serious complexion than the preceding. Eleven Brahmans, in travelling, having passed through a country desolated by war, arrived at length, exhausted by hunger and fatigue, at a village, which, contrary to their expectation, they found deserted. They had brought with them a small portion of rice, but they could find nothing to boil it in but the vessels that were in the house of the washer-man of the village. To Brahmans, even to touch them would have been a defilement almost impossible to efface. But being pressed with hunger they bound one another to secrecy by an oath, and then boiled their rice in one of the pots, which they had previously washed a hundred times. One of them alone abstained from the repast, and as soon as they reached their home, he accused the other ten before the chief Brahmans of the town. The rumour quickly spread. An assembly is held. The delinquents are summoned and compelled to appear. They had been already apprized of the difficulty in which they were likely to be involved; and when called upon to answer the charge, they unanimously protested, as they had previously concerted, that it was the accuser only that was guilty of the fault which he had laid to their charge. Which side was to be believed? Was the testimony of one man to be taken against ten? The result was, that the ten Brahmans were declared innocent and the accuser, being found guilty, was expelled with ignominy from the tribe by the chiefs, who, though they could scarcely doubt of his innocence, yet could not help being offended with the disclosure he had made.'

Whatever may have been the effects of this institution upon the arts and sciences of India, it has obstructed the progress of Christianity in that country more effectually than all other causes whatever. The Christian proselyte becomes at once an outcast. It is not merely a change of opinion that is required of him, but an abandonment of all that was grateful and dear to the best feelings of his heart. If he but listen to the persuasions of the missionary, a severe and long continued penance must wipe away the pollution. They have no desire to make, for their institutions will not allow them to receive a convert; while we compassionate and would instruct their ignorance, they regard Christians with contempt and abhorrence. Europeans who reside in India, employ in their houses and about their persons only the low and despised tribe of Pariahs. The consequence of this is obvious; if a Pariah does not avoid the touch and the sight of a

Brahman—if he hesitates to throw himself upon the ground at the approach of his superiors, his presumption is severely punished. A Hindu is accustomed from infancy to class together all who have any intercourse with each other; this is his most uniform habit, and his strongest prejudice; and it cannot be hoped that he will relinquish the religion of his fathers, while the names and characters of the Christian and the degraded Pariah continue to be connected in his earliest and strongest associations.

ART. V.—*The Life of Charles Brockden Brown: together with selections from the rarest of his printed works, from his original letters, and from his manuscripts before unpublished. By William Dunlap.* 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 868. Philadelphia, 1815.

LITTLE remains to be said on the subject of literary biography. The usual complaint is that the life of a man of letters is almost necessarily wanting in incident, and when the writer has made this general apology for a meagre narrative, he too often feels at liberty to be as deficient in every thing as may suit his ignorance, indolence, or want of discrimination. He is unable perhaps to collect such facts in the life of a scholar as are commonly called remarkable, and hence infers that there is nothing in it worthy of public notice. Perhaps he is able to collect a few anecdotes, which he records with a proper regard to the order in which they occurred, but without shewing their connexion with the character of the man. It seems as much a matter of course to place a memoir at the beginning of his works, as a stone and epitaph over his remains, and they generally tell us the same thing,—how much we honour and how little we know of him. It is hardly possible that a faithful, judicious history of a literary man should not be full of amusement and important instruction; but it cannot be made so by relating only what is common to him and every one else, or what would be equally interesting if told of another. Most of the events of his life, (if they may be called such,) in which we are concerned, pass within himself rather than abroad. We would see how his experience affected his judgments, purposes and feelings; we want to know, principally, the history of his mind; what gave him a strong, unconquerable inclination to a certain pursuit, what retarded

his progress or enabled him to subdue difficulties, what influenced him in the selection of his subjects and in his peculiar views of them, and what were the little incidental aids to the accomplishment of some great work, which appears to have grown up as silently and independently as the oak under the open sky. We want his conversation when most unguarded and unconstrained, for we would see his character and power when there was no effort, nor disguise, nor anxiety about the effect of his opinions upon his fame or upon society. We would know his character thoroughly, for it may serve to explain and qualify his opinions, weaken our false confidence in him, or animate and strengthen our just attachment, give the practical force of example to instruction, and that peculiar attraction to his opinions which every thing possesses that belongs to one whom we understand and love.

The man of letters, in one sense, may always be his own biographer, if he writes from honest feeling and conviction only, without any attempt to pass for what he is not; for his character will then be wrought into his opinions, and we shall at least be familiar with the man, though not with his history. But this is not enough—we want his history; and no one can write it so well as himself, if he has but an ordinary share of honesty. His opportunity of close self-inspection, his secret knowledge of what has formed his character—trifles perhaps in our eyes, but in fact the only important incidents of his life; his strong sense of the danger of indulging too much in habits of speculation and abstraction, that solitude is sometimes filled with worse temptations than the city; his remembrance of his anxieties and indifference, his disappointments and triumphs, and it may be of his indignant misanthropy when the world misjudged or slighted him;—all these are his and his only. And if they are fairly used and disclosed to us, his narrative will be a lesson of morals, of character, of intellectual philosophy; not a formal and abstract one, but living and practical; what we hear from him has been passed through; the heart warmed it before it was told, and we derive its good instruction for ourselves, from a discriminating view of all the details. And even where his self-love tempts him to hide or extenuate, his anxiety may betray as much as a confession, and throw further light upon his character.

If he has left no memoir of his life, a judicious biographer will present us with his journals, letters, conversation, and

especially record the events and occupations to which he recurred most frequently, as having had a decisive influence upon his happiness, ambition or ways of thinking. His literary history will also be preserved as far as possible; all his projects, failures, and success, his mode of life, his rivalries, friendships, and antipathies; even the price he obtained for a work, and the editions it passed through, with or without his alterations. Some of these facts are always interesting as they affect or illustrate his character; and the rest may be so from their connexion with a great man, and for the light they may throw upon the literature or distinguished characters of his age.

The work before us contains little that is new, of any value, except a few of Brown's letters, and some extracts from his journal, which occupy but a very small place. The selections fill nearly the whole book, and all of any consequence had been already published. The Life appears to be only an apology or pretence for republishing these, and it is certainly a very poor one. But Brown himself would be the last man to complain of this. He never seems to have laboured with a view to do justice to his powers; he left his fame to accident, and would not have expected a friend to do more for it, after his death, than he had done while living. His life appears to have been always desultory, and his mind never under steady discipline. His feeble health withheld him from the common amusements of children, and this drove him to books and his own thoughts for companions and diversion. Diligent study wore down the little strength he had, and then we find him alone in the fields, seeking health from exercise, but in fact acquiring a love of solitude and habits of abstraction, till he became, for a season at least, 'an eccentric, isolated being, loathing the common pursuits and topics of men.' His mind was always active and curious, acquiring largely but irregularly and with no distinct object in view. His literary ambition seems to have been above his opportunities and situation, and sometimes discovers an ignorance of his powers and uncertainty in his taste. For a large part of his short life he appears as a sad enthusiast, a sceptical inquirer, a dissatisfied observer, a whimsical projector of better things for society than he could ever bring to pass, or in a calm moment wish to realize, even if his own views had been completely carried out; turning his mind to various pursuits with rash

eagerness; planning epics, studying architecture, forming literary associations, discussing legal questions with his fellow students, and abandoning the profession of his choice before he had felt either its vexations or excitements, or even framed a tolerable excuse for his conscience or an answer to the persuasions of his friends. Such was his hurried, mingled, undirected life. From all that surrounded and excited him he shrinks within himself to mourn in secret. 'As for me, I long ago discovered that nature had not qualified me for an actor on this stage. The nature of my education only added to these disqualifications, and I experienced all those deviations from the centre, which arise when all our lessons are taken from books, and the scholar makes his own character the comment. A happy destiny indeed brought me to the knowledge of two or three minds which nature had fashioned in the same mould with my own, but these are gone. And, O God! enable me to wait the moment when it is thy will that I should follow them.'

Such strong sensibility as his could not be safe unless all his powers had acted together, and in its diseased state it absolutely prevented this. He wanted something from without to draw his attention from himself, and make him a sober, practical thinker; he needed regular employments that always tended to something, and produced some visible effect; he had yet to learn what man was made of and why he was placed here, and that the same world which offended the sensitiveness of the weak, was a fine school for character and might be a nursery for the tenderest feeling. He tells us with what rapture he communed with his own thoughts in the gloom of woods, and 'peopled it with the beings of his fancy, till the barrier between himself and the world of spirits seemed burst by the force of meditation;' but it was in vain that he promised himself that he could come back to society, to the concerns of life and his appropriate duties, to converse with the world in its own language and upon its favourite subjects.

From the slight view which is given of Brown's character in these volumes (and we know it only from this source) we should judge him to have been, notwithstanding his infirmities, a friend worthy of all trust; one who could never be spared, and least of all abandoned. His sufferings neither repelled nor wearied. He was a sincere and unobtrusive sufferer. It was a principle with him to conceal what he endured. 'I

sincerely lament that I ever gave you reason to imagine I was not happy. The discovery could not take away from the number of the wretched, but only add to it. When I cannot communicate pleasure, I will communicate nothing. Do I wish friendship only to make myself a burden? Let me share in your joys and sorrows, and bear all my misfortunes myself.' We may call this an error, for why should sympathy be unavailing? But with him it was the fruit of a generous spirit. There was no coldness, nor misanthropy, nor repining in his intercourse with the world. He did not refuse pity because he was above it, but he could not endure to wear in the presence of others the wretched singularity of a broken, dissatisfied spirit; to be marked out as one who could only spread clouds over his home and the hearts that loved him.—His mind was perfectly fair, quick to discern and urge what was best for his friend, even though he should give counsel which reproached himself. He was humbled by his weakness, but he was unwilling to rise in his own estimation from the good opinion of others, till he felt that he deserved it. His self-diffidence, however, reminded him that he might not be the fairest judge of his own conduct, and though he might dread approbation, he knew the worth of it.

His life was pure, but he says that frail health had made him an exile from temptation, that his virtue was under the protection of nature; he is grateful for his infirmities, and thinks he loved intellectual glory because he had no resource but in intellectual pleasure. A gentle, subdued spirit appears in his whole character. He expected little from the world, but seems every day growing more and more prepared for its ills, more zealous to do something in its service, and more willing to trust in its reasonable promises. His life was short, but a few years before his death it was active and happy. His importance was increasing, and his claims to the remembrance of after times were secured. His character was unchanged in death. The following affecting account of his last hours was communicated by his wife to the biographer.

'He always felt for others more than for himself; and the evidences of sorrow in those around him, which could not at all times be suppressed, appeared to affect him more than his own sufferings. Whenever he spoke of the probability of a fatal termination of his disease, it was in an indirect and covered manner, as "you must do so or so when I am absent,"

or "when I am asleep." He surrendered not up one faculty of his soul but with his last breath. He saw death in every step of his approach, and viewed him as a messenger that brought with him no terrors. He frequently expressed his resignation; but his resignation was not produced by apathy or pain, for while he bowed with submission to the divine will, he felt with the keenest sensibility his separation from those who made this world but too dear to him. Towards the last he spoke of death without disguise, and appeared to wish to prepare his friends for the event which he felt to be approaching. A few days previous to his change, as sitting up in the bed, he fixed his eyes on the sky, and desired not to be spoken to till he first spoke. In this position, and with a serene countenance, he continued some minutes, and then said to his wife, "when I desired you not to speak to me, I had the most transporting and sublime feelings I ever experienced. I wanted to enjoy them, and know how long they would last."

Brown died in 1809 at the age of thirty nine. For ten years before his death he had been an indefatigable author by profession, at first in New York and afterwards in Philadelphia, his native city. During this period he conducted and was principal contributor to three periodical works, of which we have seen at least fifteen volumes. To these we must add his political pamphlets, his unpublished manuscripts and his six novels. Wieland, Ormond, Arthur Mervyn, and Edgar Huntly are the earliest and best known, and to these we shall confine our remarks. Clara Howard and Jane Talbot, his two latest tales, are so very inferior to and unlike the others, that they require no particular notice.

Brown owes his reputation to his novels. He wrote them indeed principally for his amusement, and preferred publishing them when unfinished to labouring upon them after they had lost their interest to himself: they are proofs or signs of power rather than the result of its complete and steady exertion; but they shew the character of his mind and will justify our curiosity to examine it. In attempting this, we do not feel as if we were bringing forward a deserving but neglected author; he has received honourable notice from distinguished men abroad, and his countrymen discerned his merits without waiting till a foreign glory had shone on and revealed them. Still he is very far from being a popular writer. There is no call, as far as we know, for a second edition of any of his

works. He is rarely spoken of but by those who have an habitual curiosity about every thing literary, and a becoming pride in all good writing which appears amongst ourselves. They have not met with the usual success of leaders in matters of taste, since, with all their admiration, they have not been able to extend his celebrity much beyond themselves. Some will explain this by saying that he wrote too rapidly, or that his subjects are too monstrous or at least too extraordinary for common sympathy. But the thoughts of great minds, when earnestly at work, are rarely improved by deliberation and change, and a powerful imagination can imprison us with any thing that is not spiritless, or incapable of suggesting something like reality to the mind. No reader would leave Wieland unfinished, notwithstanding its self-combustion and ventriloquism, nor Edgar Huntly because of its sleep-walking. If we do not return to them, it is to avoid suffering, and not that they want fascination, and a terrible one, if we are willing to encounter it more than once.

Some have ascribed his want of popularity to his placing the scenes of his novels in our own country. What are the embarrassments from this cause, which the American novelist must be prepared for, and how far has Brown overcome or avoided them?—Our busy streets, and the commodious apartments of our unromantic dwellings are, it is thought, very unsuitable for the wonders and adventures which we have been accustomed to associate exclusively with the mouldering castles and unfrequented regions of older countries. Our cities are large, but new, and they constantly suggest to us the gainful habits and the secure homes of a recent and flourishing population; the labouring and happy are seen every where and not a corner or recess is secret. The deserted street at midnight produces no awful sense of solitude or danger, and the throng that passes us by day, would scarcely suggest the thought that any one was alone in the crowd, buried in contemplation and perhaps brooding over mischief in darkness. We hear of crimes, but they usually appear so vulgar and selfish, so mean or cruel, that the imagination almost sleeps under abhorrence or disgust; we regard them as public evils, and think it enough to leave them to the benevolent reformer and the laws of the land. We hear of conspiracies and circumvention, but they are directed at our gains or good name and put us upon our guard; we think of

the injury and its prevention, more than of the terrible power, dark purposes and inextricable toils of the contriver. The actions we esteem great, or are prepared to witness and encourage, are the useful rather than the heroic, such as tend to make society happier. not such as disturb or darken it. Our pride, good sense and warmest wishes are satisfied, but the imagination is not kindled, nor could it lend any lustre to what we approve. The writer then who frames a story to call forth extraordinary and violent interest, and lays the scene amongst ourselves, must encounter the difficulty of creating an illusion, where his events and characters are broad exceptions to all we witness or should expect, and where our imaginations are kept from wandering, and from deceiving us into a faint conviction of reality, by the mention of some place or circumstance which is too stubbornly familiar and unpoetical for any thing but common incidents and feelings. We are speaking of that kind of tale-writing in which Brown delights, the romantic; and we have ascribed the difficulty of succeeding in it here, not to the entire absence of romantic incident, situation and characters, but, which is just as unfortunate for the writer, to the want in his readers of romantic associations with the scenes and persons he must set before us, if he makes a strictly domestic story.

But there is another and an extremely popular kind of fictitious writing, which makes the fable subservient to the developing of national character, or of the manners, usages, prejudices and condition of particular classes. Besides truth, spirit and a nice discrimination of peculiarities in the sketches of individuals, a single picture is widely applicable, and gives us much knowledge of the state of society at the time, and what is still higher, an increased and nearer knowledge of mankind. These sketches are not caricatures, merely grotesque delineations of strange individuals, such as amuse or distress us chiefly for their total separation from the crowd to which we belong. They represent classes; they show us some peculiar operation of familiar principles, in men who received their natures from our common author, and their distinctive characters from limited external influences. A source of sympathy is thus opened between the remotest nations; we read with delight of those who are separated from us by their institutions and manners as well as climate, not that they are represented as beings formed of another mould and with

different capacities from ourselves, but because they resemble us in every thing except that distinguishing character and those prevailing tastes which are ascribable to the peculiar circumstances in which they are placed. We love to see the common world moulding the mind a thousand ways, and multiplying our studies and pleasures without lessening our sympathy and attachments.

How far may this kind of fictitious writing be expected to succeed among us? This cannot depend upon the genius only of authors; at least, mere invention is out of the question. The object is to present what exists, to appeal to men's observation and daily experience. We might possibly be more delighted with a merely poetical creation, than with a history of living men and a sketch of ordinary society, but these would lose all their attraction and value, when they profess to describe realities, while in fact they are occupied principally with an imaginary world.—Our state of society at present offers very imperfect materials for a novel, of the kind which has just been alluded to. If we admit that there is here a *lower class*, its peculiarity would not be found in character so much as in vulgarity of manners and narrowness of opinion; and a foreigner would be as little delighted as ourselves with the most lively record of corrupt speech, of coarse or indelicate customs of sturdy insolence towards the rich, and indifference or contempt for those who consented to be poor, where competency was so easy and so privileged. If such a sketch should be true, it would be so only of individuals whose influence is scarcely felt amongst ourselves, and whose peculiarities would give strangers very little knowledge of the effect of our institutions or pursuits upon our opinions and character.

We come next to a large and invaluable order, composed of sensible, industrious, upright men, whose whole experience seems at war with adventure, and whose chief distinction is in their unmolested happiness, and perfectly independent modes of living. They are exactly fitted to make society secure and prosperous, and to teach us the importance of good habits and principles; with more firmness and efficiency than variety, sprightliness or vehemence in their characters; free from wild superstitions; not much in the habit of forming poetical associations with the objects they are most familiar with; using, occasionally, highly picturesque expressions,

without betraying the feelings in which they originated; affected by many sober and rooted prejudices, which are inseparable perhaps from strong, unpolished character, and are even its protection, but such as might appear to more advantage in a book that was only to make us wiser, than in one designed only for our diversion. With such a class of men, we should find more instruction than entertainment, more to gratify our kind feelings and good sense than to fill our imaginations. To visit them in their own homes would please us more than to read of them in a novel; they might offer little to call forth discrimination and acute remark, but a great deal of general happiness and virtue for a good mind to approve and imitate.

If we should look for what are called the higher classes of society, the wealthy, fashionable and ostentatious, whose manners, parade and intrigues in the older countries have given birth to some of the finest modern tales; we might be in a great measure disappointed. We should, indeed, find splendour, luxury and refinement, and possibly an incomplete imitation of foreign fashions; but little of the exclusive spirit of an established order, which owed its existence to something peculiar in our state of society, and had secured respect for its claims from those who were most impatient of superiority and all separate pretentions. More years, practice and affluence might be necessary to render the class more distinct, character more various, peculiarities more graceful and easy, vice and folly more finished and creditable, and affectation less insupportable than uncouth sincerity.

No doubt, it is impossible to give a just account of society, whatever be its state, without affording some entertainment, or at least knowledge. Man is always our best study, and our most fruitful subject whether we hate or love him. If a writer would be a despot, with power never to be shaken or questioned, let him become the fearless and exact historian or painter of real life. If he would be the most efficient moral teacher, let him tell men what they are and what is thought of them; let him take us from the crowd where there is too much motion for thought, where each is countenanced and sheltered by the other, with an example on all sides for his follies or vices, and where the very sense of fault dies because there is none to condemn; let him show us our conduct in a silent picture, when there is nothing to dim our

perceptions, or mislead our judgments, when the music has ceased which put us all in the same motion, attracted us to one object and made every man happy without a thought of the cause or the manner. We may then learn the real spirit and business of society, with much to laugh at and something to lament as well as approve. In every class amongst ourselves there are fine subjects for the moral and satirical observer, which have already called forth much grave and light rebuke, and many short, lively sketches of domestic manners, national customs and individual singularities. But our common every-day life hardly offers materials as yet for a long story, which should be full of interest for its strong and infinitely various characters, fine conversation and striking incident, for conflicting pretensions and subtile intrigues in private life, and which should all appear to be exactly in the ordinary course of things, and what every one would feel to be perfectly true, without being obliged to verify it by particular and limited applications. And genius is not apt to employ itself upon subjects where it feels enbarrassed by the want of materials. It does not indeed court novelties, as if it thought nothing else would do, nor shun what common minds might think unpromising or impossible. It follows its own wishes and chooses what it can manage to advantage; what provokes its energy and is yet within its controul.

Brown had the courage to lay the scenes of his stories at home, but no one will charge him with a disgusting familiarity. He has never attempted to draw a peculiar American character; he seeks for many of his most important persons abroad, or among those who had lived and been educated abroad, where the character had been formed and opinions decidedly fixed, under better influences perhaps for his purposes than existed or at present could be expected to exist here, while many things in our situation and prospects would offer a good field for a new and striking exhibition of his characters. The scene is rarely in common life or for ordinary events. Sometimes he begins with a simple, domestic narrative, as in Ormond, which has no very distinct reference to our state of society, but which exhibits merely, though with great spirit, the unwearied solicitude of a daughter for a weak, sinful and helpless father, the victim of a young impostor, whom he had received to his confidence. We are constantly expecting something more important, though with-

out an intimation what it will be. At length some terrific being—little less than omnipotent, of strong mind and feelings utterly and deliberately perverted—is introduced, and thence forward rules the destinies of every one else, without exhibiting very definite purposes, or adopting any distinct plan of operations. His power is usually of a moral kind; he establishes an inquisition to put the mind to torture; looks, tones, persuasions, threats and dark insinuations are his instruments. Our chief interest is not in the events, nor at all dependent upon the conviction that we ever saw the place or the man. We are not thinking of accustomed modes of living or our ordinary experience, but are held captive by the force of character, the intensity of intellectual suffering, the unrelenting perseverance of a bad spirit disappointed. A spell is thrown over our imaginations, and our belief is at least strong enough for sympathy.

Sometimes the events are placed so far back that they belong to a somewhat different race from ourselves, at least with different pursuits, pleasures and dangers; but we are not in a strange country; what was then a wilderness is now covered with our own flourishing settlements; the savage and beast of prey are scarcely heard of; the wild, adventurous character of the recent settler has become softened by regular and secure industry, and we feel as if we were reading of our antiquities.

Sometimes the author takes advantage of a recent event amongst ourselves, as in Wieland, which is too shocking to receive any aid from exaggeration or to lose any interest from its notoriety. A father is tempted by apparent communications from above to murder his family. The rapture and exultation with which he contemplates his triumph over his fond weakness in obedience to heaven, very often reach the sublime. This is equalled perhaps by his utter prostration when he learns that he has been deceived. The author connects this event with just such beings as should be concerned in it; he makes it illustrative of character and dependent upon it; and though it might appear rare and monstrous enough for a lie instead of a wonder, he contrives by the earnestness and argumentative cast of reflection, the depth, sincerity and torture of feeling, the suitableness of every circumstance and the apparent inevitableness of all that occurs, to chain us to a more revolting narrative than perhaps ever before made the smallest pretensions to truth.

Sometimes his stories rest chiefly upon recent events of public concern. We refer particularly to the pestilence that has more than once wasted our principal cities; and here he is so willing to confine himself to mere truth that he proposes to make his narrative of practical use, by preserving such incidents as appeared to him most instructive amongst those which fell under his own observation. He enters the city; the streets are still, the dwellings deserted or occupied by the sick. There is such terrible distinctness in his description of the calamity, so much of vulgar suffering which cannot be relieved, and of disgusting, selfish inhumanity in the timid, too rarely contrasted with a generous self-exposure, that we are sometimes oppressed and sickened; the reality seems too near. But in connexion with this, there is sufficient horror and wildness for the imagination. We feel that all this suffering is crowded into one spot, where the poor and wretched are almost alone amongst the deserted mansions of the wealthy and in the scenes of recent gayety. The victim is left in a dark, closed dwelling, as if to die in his tomb, with no one near but the safe plunderer. The day and night are equally still—there are no sounds but of the dying and the hearse. The fugitive, whom we thought secure, perishes in a purer air; and to make our sense of hopelessness and desolation still more complete, we see the sun shining as brightly and the grass-walks as fresh in the morning, as if the happy were there to enjoy them.

We can offer only these few remarks upon the course Brown has followed in the selection of his subjects, and the use of his materials. Though his scenes lie at home, yet in his four principal tales, we can say with some confidence, that there is little which is too humble and familiar for interest, or so monstrous and unusual that he has not been able to recommend it sufficiently to our belief for all his purposes.

We have alluded to the singular or improbable character, of his persons and incidents; and it is the first thing that presents itelf on reading his four principal tales. He selects minds that are strangely gifted or influenced, as if for the pleasure of exploring some secret principles of our nature, disclosing new motives of conduct, or old ones operating in a new direction; and especially that he may have an opportunity, the necessity of which we are to admit, of accounting at large for every thing that is resolved upon or done; as

if he had discovered springs of action which could not be understood in the usual way, by our observation of their effects, but only from a minute, philosophical discussion of impulses and motives by the parties concerned, after a cool, thorough self-inspection, and a detailed enumeration of rapid and subtile thoughts which incessantly gleamed across their minds in the storm. In the language of one of his characters, 'I cannot be satisfied with telling you that I am not well, but I must be searching with these careful eyes into causes and labouring to tell you of what nature my malady is. It has always been so. I have always found an unaccountable pleasure in dissecting, as it were my heart, uncovering, one by one, its many folds, and laying it before you as a country is shown in a map.' This scrutiny into the feelings is given with such an air of probability and conclusiveness, or at least sincerity, that we are disposed to admit the existence of the most extraordinary beings, and then their opinions, purposes, conduct, and influence over others are quite satisfactorily explained, without supposing any other despotism over the will but that which is to be found in the power of involuntary thoughts.

But this accounting for every thing is often excessively irksome. A ludicrous importance is given to trifles; the vast mind is seen busied, amazed and anxious about incidents or intimations that are wholly inadequate to the concern they give or the effects which are traced to them, and which ordinary men would be ashamed to notice. What would be nothing elsewhere is every thing here. The feelings not only appear to obey the impulse they receive and tend unerringly to their object, but in a state of excitement and tumult, they are excellent philosophers; they shew the mind's perfect consciousness of all that is passing within; they appear to prescribe their own operations, pass through anticipated changes, and remember that they are afterwards to render an account of themselves. The reader would be better pleased if the mind's rapid conclusions were given, and an opportunity left for his own sagacity to account for them from observation of the whole character.

Brown's principal characters are designed chiefly for our imaginations and ingenuity. They study and delineate themselves with exemplary diligence and fidelity. This is not done that they may grow better, or give us a moral lesson

they are perfectly satisfied with the study, and succeed in engaging us to watch them. They are of a contemplative turn, forever hunting for materials of thought rather than motives to action, not so much from irresolution or speculative indolence, as from a love of thinking and feeling deeply at all times, and associating every thing around them with their own minds. They defer as far as possible the day when the deed shall be done which is to deprive them of something to brood over; they are anxious to operate upon the minds of others rather than upon their conduct, to keep them in suspense, and divert them from the purpose which they themselves have inspired, as soon as they see it ripening into action. They would envy no man the calm assurance and prompt determination, which spring from a general consciousness of good intentions and a quick insight into the subject of his thoughts. They have a perverse love of perplexity and doubt, and of needless though not vulgar difficulties; and to gratify this, a false and bewildering consequence is given to their own most common feelings and the most obvious conduct in others. They have not been enough exposed to the world to acquire a contempt for their singularities; they feel as if they were very peculiar and must attract as much attention as they bestow upon themselves, and especially that mischief must lurk in every thing which appears mysterious to them. Then they plunge into solitudes and heap conjectures upon conjectures about endless possibilities. 'Thought is first made a vehicle of pain,' and then life is not worth enduring; but they live on, for to die would be as fatal as torpor to the wild dreamer, and a disposition to make evils supportable would be just as bad.

But the time for action at last comes—we could not anticipate what would be done, nor comprehend why any thing should be done—there is all at once a rushing and thronging of incidents; the bright heavens are suddenly darkened; a strange accumulation of unforeseen ills falls upon a single deserted being. His innocent actions are most ingeniously misconceived or misrepresented; he is made the blind instrument of all the woe he suffers or inflicts; his sad delusions are made use of to draw him to the most atrocious deeds; the means of vindication to the injured or of correction to the erring are always near but never possessed. It is of no consequence to the author whether you were prepared by the

early view of a doubtful character for his conduct afterwards; whether he fulfils his promise or breaks it. He chooses to make men as intense in action as they were before in reflection. He conjures up at once a terrible scene for mighty agents; if one perishes, he supplies the place by infusing new strength and other purposes into those that remain. And the attention is so much engrossed, the imagination is so filled by what is passing now, that we care not for its connexion, if there be any, with the past or future; we want no more, and least of all such explanations as are sometimes given. We seem to have had a disturbed dream; we suddenly reached the precipice, plunged, and awoke in falling, rejoiced that it was an illusion and that it has passed away.

A writer so engrossed with the character of men and the ways in which they may be influenced; chiefly occupied with the mind, turning every thing into thought, and refining upon it till it almost vanishes, might not be expected to give much time to descriptions of outward objects. But in all his tales he shows great closeness and minuteness of observation. He describes as if he told only what he had seen in a highly excited state of feeling, and in connexion with the events and characters. He discovers every where a strong sense of the presence of objects. Most of his descriptions are simple, and many might appear bald. He knew perhaps that some minds could be awakened by the mere mention of a water-fall, or of full orchards and cornfields, or of the peculiar sound of the wind among the pines.—We have alluded to the distinctness and particularity with which he describes the city visited with pestilence; the dwelling-house, the hospital, the dying, the healed, all appear before our eyes; the imagination has nothing to do but perceive, though it never fails to multiply and enlarge circumstances of horror, and to fasten us to the picture more strongly by increasing terror and sympathy till mere disgust ceases.—The most formal and protracted description is in Edgar Huntly, of a scene in our Western wilderness. We become acquainted with it by following the hero night and day, in a cold, drenching rain storm, or under the clear sky, through its dark caverns, recesses and woods, along its ridges and the river side. It produces throughout the liveliest sense of danger, and oppresses the spirits with an almost inexplicable sadness. Connected with

it are incidents of savage warfare, the disturbed life of the frontier settler, the attack of the half-famished panther, the hero's lonely pursuit of a sleep-walker, and his own adventures when suffering under the same calamity. The question is not how much of this has happened or is likely to happen; but is it felt; are we for the time at the disposal of the writer, and can we never lose the impression he leaves? Does it appear in its first freshness when any thing occurs which a busy fancy can associate with it? Does it go with us into other deserts, and quicken our feelings and observation till a familiar air is given to strange prospects? If so, the author is satisfied. To object that he is wild and improbable in his story is not enough, unless we can show that his intention failed or was a bad one.

Brown delights in solitude of all kinds. He loves to represent the heart as desolate; to impress you with the self-dependence of characters, plotting, loving, suspecting evil, devising good, in perfect secrecy. Sometimes, when he would exhibit strength of mind and purpose to most advantage, he takes away all external succour, even the presence of a friend who might offer at least the support of his notice and sympathy. He surrounds a person with circumstances precisely fitted to weaken resolution by raising vague apprehensions of danger, but incapable of producing so strong an excitement as to inspire desperate and inflexible energy. The mind must then fortify itself, calmly estimate the evil that seems to be approaching, and contemplate it in its worst forms and consequences in order to counteract it effectually.—He is peculiarly successful in describing a deserted house, silent and dark in the day-time, while a faint ray streams through the crevices of the closed doors and shutters, discovering in a peculiar twilight that it had been once occupied, and that every thing remained undisturbed since its sudden desertion. The sentiment of fear and melancholy is perhaps never more lively, nor the disturbed fancy more active than in such a place, even when we are strangers to it; but how much more, if we have passed there through happiness and suffering, if the robber has alarmed our security, or if a friend has died there and been carried over its threshold to the grave. The solemnity of our minds is unlike that which we feel when walking alone on the sea-shore at night, or through dark forests by day, for here there is no decay, nothing that man had created and which seems to mourn his absence: there is rapture as well

as awe in our contemplations, and more of devotion than alarm in our fear.

Brown's mind is distinguished for strong, intense conception. If his thoughts are vast, he is still always master of them. He works with the greatest ease, as if his mind were fully possessed of his subject, and could not but suggest thoughts with freedom and rapidity. In the most monstrous and shocking narrative, he writes with the utmost sincerity, as if he laboured under a delusion which acted with a mischievous but uncontrollable power. He never, indeed, shews a desire to complete a story, nor draws a character so much for what it is to effect in the end, as for the development of mind. The present incident is perhaps fine in itself, and answers the author's purpose, and gives room for the display of great strength; but it has little or no connexion with others. With the greatest solicitude to tell us every thing that passes in the mind before a purpose is formed, he is very careless as to any continuity or dependence in the events which lead to or flow from that purpose. He sometimes crowds more into one day than we should have expected in many, and at others leaps over so large an interval as to make the narrative improbable to all who are not in the secret. His characters cannot be relied upon: notwithstanding their strength and apparently stubborn singularities, they accommodate themselves readily to the author, sometimes losing all the importance with which they were at first invested, and at others accomplishing something beyond or opposite to what was expected, and almost what we can believe to be within the compass of human power in the agent or weakness in the sufferer. This incompleteness of views and inconsistency of characters is not owing to carelessness or haste in the writer; he had never determined how things should end, nor proposed to himself any prevailing object when he began, nor discovered one as he advanced. We generally close a story with a belief that as much more might be said. He was engrossed by single, separate scenes, such as invention suggested from time to time; and while we can account from this fact for our feeling little solicitude about the story as a whole, we must at the same time form a high estimate of an author's power, who can carry us through almost disconnected scenes without any considerable failure of interest. He seems fond of exciting and vexing curiosity, but when he fails of satisfying it, it is more, we believe, from forgetfulness than design.

There is very little variety in his writings; at least in those where his genius is most clearly discerned. He loves unusual, lawless characters, and extraordinary and tragic incident. There should not be a moment of calm brightness in the world, unless as it may serve to heighten the effect of approaching gloom and tempest. The innocent are doomed to suffer, as if virtue were best capable of enduring and shone most conspicuously in trial, or at least drew the largest sympathy. This suffering is of the mind; bodily pain and death appear but moderate and vulgar evils, and rather a refuge than punishment for the triumphant criminal, who has rioted in mischief till he is weary, and willing to die for repose since his work is ended. In these sad views of life, which make society worse than the wilderness and men's sympathy and promises little better than a mockery, there is no apparent design to mislead the world, or covertly condemn its opinions and awards, but merely to take a firm hold of the heart, by appeals to its pity, terror, indignation or wonder. He wants the universality and justice of a fair observer of the world. He thinks too much in one way, and that a narrow one. His views are of one kind, and show that he thought more than he observed.

His style is clear, simple and nervous, with very little peculiarity, and not the slightest affectation or even consciousness of manner; rarely varying to suit the subject, or to distinguish conversation from narrative or description. It uniformly bears marks of a serious, thoughtful mind, remembering its excitement and suffering rather than experiencing them. There are, now and then, some attempts at playfulness and humour, but they are wholly unsuccessful, and sometimes ludicrous and offensive. There are few striking sentences which the reader would unconsciously retain for the beauty of their structure, or any peculiar terms; we have the thought without the expression. We should not pronounce Brown a man of genius, nor deny him that distinction, from his style. It might have been acquired by care and study, but it is the result only and never betrays the process. There is no attempt at what is too vaguely called fine writing; no needless ornament, no sacrifice of spirit and energy from a weak ambition of harmony or finish, no use of a strictly poetical term to excite the imagination, when another and a simpler one will convey the meaning more definitely.

He uses words merely to express his own thoughts, and not to multiply our associations. He never allows them to outstrip, or, which is nearly the same thing, to take the place of feeling and truth. He appears to be above the common temptation to exhibit tokens of more passion than is felt, merely on account of 'the imaginary gracefulness of passion,' or to decorate scenes with borrowed beauties till they have lost every thing which could distinguish them, or even persuade us that we were in our own world.

It has been our object in these remarks, to point out some of Brown's prominent defects and excellencies. We never intended to make an abstract of his stories; and such extracts as we could admit would do little justice to the author.—His readers will observe every-where that he was an ardent admirer of Godwin, though not his slave. Godwin himself has pronounced him a writer of distinguished genius and acknowledged himself in his debt.—The uses and evils of criticism can no longer be felt by him; the dead are beyond our judgment. It is for the living that their opinions and genius should be inquired into; and it is hardly less dishonourable to let the grave bury their worth than consecrate their errors.

ART. VI.—*Korte Beschrijving van de ontedekking en der vedere lotgevallen van Nieuw-Nederland, welleer eene volkplanting van het gemeenebest der Vereenigde Nederlanden in America: door Mr. N. C. Lambrechtsen, van Ritthem, President van het Zeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen.* 8vo. Middelburg, 1818.

SINCE the late political revolutions of Europe have restored Holland to its former rank as an independent nation, the scholars and public men of that country seem to have been very generally excited to a laudable ambition of cultivating and improving their native language and literature. Their ancient spirit of national pride, which for the last twenty-five years had been, as it were, in abeyance,—not in the least degree transferred to that colossal empire of which Holland had become a part, nor ever quite dormant, and yet left without any thing to sustain and preserve it, except melancholy recollections of past glory,—has now revived with much vigour,

and the direction which it has taken in literature is, we conceive, a happy one. In a political point of view, it is clearly an object of vital importance to Holland to preserve and strengthen, as much as possible, that peculiar national character, upon which the very existence of every minor European state, especially when surrounded by powerful neighbours, must essentially depend; and there is nothing that can more effectually contribute to this end than a copious and cultivated literature of domestic growth; which assimilating itself to all the local feelings, opinions, and associations of the people, borrows from thence its character and expression, and in its turn repays them by increase of interest, strength, and stability.

There is, too, another view of this subject of more general concern to the whole republic of letters. We are strongly inclined to believe that the great interests both of philosophy and of taste are much promoted by the distinct cultivation of each nation's peculiar literature. The mother tongue of every man is so much a part of his very mind and so intimately wrought into all his feelings and sympathies, that it is but barely possible that he can either think boldly and strongly, and out of the beaten track of common minds, or express his thoughts with energetic accuracy and clearness, in any other language, however familiar its use may be to him. The literary history of Germany affords strong evidence of this truth and of the extent of its influence. With how much vigour and exuberance have the literary talent and the philosophy of that country put themselves forth on all sides, since they have been suffered to take their own natural bent, entirely freed from the restrictions formerly imposed upon them by the exclusive study of ancient and of French learning and criticism, and by the custom of addressing the public in a dead or in a foreign language. Even those to whom German literature is known only through the medium of translations and imitations, reap no small benefit from this great revolution, and cannot but perceive the immeasurable superiority of those later German authors who have freely employed their native tongue, to those of an elder date, who, like the great Frederic and his Frenchified academicians at Berlin, despising or neglecting the riches of their own vigorous and copious language, were content to be the ambitious but feeble and awkward imitators of the wits of Paris.

The literary talent and reputation of Holland have doubtless suffered not a little from the same cause. For the last two centuries, no one nation, except perhaps the Scotch, has, in proportion to its numbers, contributed so largely as the Dutch to enrich the stores of European learning. Nevertheless it is remarkable that from the Latin ages of Erasmus and of Grotius, down to the Luzacs and other eminent scholars of the last generation, who contributed so much towards making the French the general language of continental politics and literature,—although many of the writings of the Dutch literati have been admirable for their most profound learning, for good sense and acuteness, very often for independence and novelty of opinion, and not unfrequently for pure taste and a polished elegance of style,—yet scarcely any of them (we may perhaps except only a few of the lighter works of Erasmus) are at all distinguished for that high flavoured originality which continues to excite the attention and to charm, long after novelty has passed away and curiosity is gratified. They are works to which every scholar, as well as every liberal lawyer and divine must confess that he owes much of what is most valuable in his knowledge, and which may be constantly referred to, for instruction on every important subject of life or of speculation; but they do not leave the memory filled with what Cowley calls

> Rich racy passages, where we
> The soil from which they sprung, taste, touch, and see.

Now it seems to us highly probable, that one principal cause of this was the use of a language, which, however perfectly it might have been at the command of these writers, was not in congruity with the general temperament and habit of their minds. If we were disposed to account for this fact from any supposed peculiarity of national genius, it would be difficult to reconcile that hypothesis with the remarkable circumstance, that in this respect the character of the arts of Holland is precisely the reverse of that of her literature. No school of painters is more strongly marked by local expression and peculiarities than the Dutch; and though in general their aim is not ambitious, and their talent has been chiefly displayed in those two departments which may be termed the pure description and the low comedy of painting, yet in those ways they have been eminently successful,—very powerful in

expression and exquisite in imitation. Rembrandt, indeed, who was a man of true genius, took a much loftier aim; and of all great and poetical painters, he was the one who owed least to antiquity, and who drew most from his own stores and the observation of that individual nature which he saw immediately around him. No one who looks at his pictures can for a moment doubt as to the native country of the artist, and this nationality of expression is coupled, as perhaps all nationality of character must be, with gross defects of taste; but how triumphantly does his genius overshadow them! In despite of absurdities and coarseness, extravagant and revolting as those of Shakspeare himself, he is the unrivalled painter not only of truth and nature, but of mystery and magic, of stillness, gloom, terror, and religious awe.

However, though the scholars of Holland have by no means done justice to their own language, still enough has been done in it to give strong evidence of its resources and capabilities, in the hands of a man of talents.

On this point we cannot cite a higher authority than that of the younger Mirabeau; his residence in Holland gave him much familiarity with the language, and little as we should be inclined to cite his opinions on any other question, with regard to style and literary merit they are certainly entitled to great deference. In his *Lettres aux Bataves* he gives a condensed view of Dutch literature, and is particularly strong in his encomiums of the historian Hooft, who wrote in his own native language. Mirabeau compares him to Tacitus.—His history of the Low Countries, says he, is a work which unites every species of historical merit.—"recommendable pour l'exactitude de faits, fortement pensé, purement ecrit."

But we must not wander any farther from our original intention, which was neither to discuss the question of the influence of language upon thought, nor yet to comment upon the history of continental literature; but merely to give some account of a work recently published in the Dutch language, upon the first settlement and early colonial history of the New Netherlands, now constituting the populous and wealthy states of New York and New Jersey.

The author, Mr. Lambrechtsen, is President of the Academy of Sciences in the province of Zealand; and we were led into the preceding train of thought by the reflection that if this work had been written in the beginning of the last century, it

would very probably have been in Latin, and if it had been published in the first years of the present, doubtless it would have been in French.

The design of the work is modest and unpretending; it merely undertakes to give a concise account of the discovery and subsequent history of the colony of the New Netherlands, until its final cession to Great Britain in 1674. The writer has endeavoured to bring into one view the substance of all that he could find on these subjects, as well as on the right of discovery, and the question of territorial limits, in the several Dutch, French, and English writers who have either directly or incidentally treated of them, and in the state papers and official documents of the times. There is less of novelty in it than we had anticipated, for we had indulged a hope that as Mr. Lambrechtsen's inquiries had been directed into a somewhat different track from that of most of his predecessors, he would have been successful in his endeavours to throw a clear light over the history of Dutch colonization in America, or at least that he would have been able to collect and preserve some of those minor, and perhaps at first view unimportant details, which are yet very frequently of the highest value to the philosophical inquirer, which give an air of truth and life to the dry and hard outlines of general narrative, suggest to the reader amusing and agreeable contrasts or associations, and afford a rich treasure of materials for future novelists and poets. But though there is very little historical information in this volume which is not already in some shape accessible to the English reader, and may not be found at the expense of a little labour and research in Chalmers, Smith, Trumbull, the Historical Collections of Hazard and of the New York Historical Society; yet we think that the author is decidedly entitled to the credit of having given a more perspicuous and accurate summary of the facts scattered over these and other much rarer volumes, than is any where else collected; and although he is by no means so full and minute on some points, as could be wished, he is far more correct in his statement of facts than any of his predecessors, who have professedly written on this portion of our history, and in particular has avoided or corrected many of the errors into which Smith, in the first chapters of his History of New York, and Dr. Trumbull in that part of his History of Connecticut which

relates to the Dutch claims of discovery, have both been led by exclusively following English authorities.

The principal merit, however, of Mr. Lambrechtsen is of another kind.—His book is animated throughout by a fine spirit of nationality and a patriotic exultation in the long departed glories of his native country. He enters heartily and honestly into the controversies of Governors Kieft and Stuyvesant with the commissioners of the English colonies, mourns over the loss of the province as if it had been an event of yesterday, triumphs in his turn on its re-conquest in 1672 by the gallant Admiral Cornelis Evertsen—whose fame is doubly dear to him because he was not only a Dutchman but a Zealander—and finally, when he reluctantly takes his leave of the province, torn away forever from the parent state by the treaty of 1674, he still appears to gaze with generous complacency on the wide and lofty fabric which has been reared upon the humble foundations of New Amsterdam, and evidently considers it as one of the proudest monuments of the enterprize and industry of his own countrymen.

We are so little accustomed to see any portion of our country treated in this manner by foreign writers, that the good feeling and hearty warmth of this worthy Dutchman towards us are really quite refreshing; and we feel sincerely disposed to reciprocate all his kindly sympathies, and as far as is in our power to participate in the enthusiasm with which he looks back upon the heroic achievements and bold adventures of his ancestors, and to listen with a willing ear while he descants on the bright and glorious epochs of the history of his 'Father-land.'

The work is dedicated to the several learned societies of which the author is an associate—the Academy of Sciences of Zealand, the second class of the Netherlands Institute—the Brussels Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres—the Leyden Society for the promotion of Dutch literature, and *Geschiedkundig Genootschap te New-Ijork*, under which disguise we suspect that few of our readers will recognise the New York Historical Society.

The introductory chapter or section contains a rapid sketch of the rise and progress of the spirit of maritime adventure in the United Provinces, and is chiefly remarkable for the animation and sincerity with which the author pours forth his soul in praise of 'the *Water-Gewzen* and other brave Nether-

landers, who following the advice of the French Admiral Coligni, undertook to assail the great enemy of the liberties of their country upon the ocean, and, nurtured in the defence of the noble cause of freedom, hunted their haughty foe through every region of the globe;' and who afterwards 'opened to their countrymen the richest springs of commerce by the discovery of unknown coasts and the conquest of distant lands.'

Mr. Lambrechtsen then offers some remarks on the various authorities which he has consulted in the course of his investigation of the early history 'of that beautiful and blessed country in North America (*op die schoone en gezegende Landstreek*) anciently called the New Netherlands;' and expresses his great regret that the information which he has been able to collect is so meagre and unsatisfactory.

We were sorry to learn from him that even the archives of the Dutch West India company contain but little respecting their former North American colonies. He conjectures that this is to be attributed to the fact, that the department of Amsterdam early possessed itself of the commerce of the New Netherlands, which the Hollanders watched over with jealous care; while the Zealanders, on the other hand, appropriated to themselves the government and commerce of Brazil. We have since been informed that this conjecture of our author is corroborated by the ancient Dutch records of New York. He afterwards suggests that certain papers in the archives of the city of Amsterdam, to which he refers, though he has not had an opportunity of examining them in person, may probably throw further light on the affairs of the New Netherlands. There could surely be no difficulty in obtaining access to these papers if proper application were made through some official representative of our government, and we beg leave to suggest to our historical societies the propriety of procuring translations of these documents.

Mr. Lambrechtsen also acknowledges some obligations, though far less than he had anticipated, to a work entitled 'A description of the New Netherlands by Adrian Vanderdonk LL. D.;' and he regrets that he was unable to procure certain other works referred to by Vanderdonk.

Vanderdonk's work relates chiefly to the soil, climate and natural productions of the banks of the Hudson, together with some curious particulars of the manners and character

of the Aborigines. We recollect that a few years ago a respectable clergyman of the Dutch reformed church, issued proposals at New York for publishing a translation of this work, as well as of one or two other tracts of the same sort, among which were, we believe, the works referred to by Mr. Lambrechtsen. If the manuscript is still in existence it is surely worthy of the attention of the New York Historical Society, and might very properly be incorporated into their printed Collections and Transactions.

The voyages of Henry Hudson and his discovery of the river which now bears his name, but to which he himself gave the more poetical appellation of the "Great River of the Mountains," are then perspicuously and correctly related. It is singular that Smith in his history of New York and so many of our own writers after him have represented this discovery as having been made by Hudson while sailing under an English commission, which right of discovery, they say, he afterwards sold to the Dutch. There is the highest and most authentic evidence of the incorrectness of this statement in the narrative of Hudson's voyages contained in Purchas' Pilgrims.

The chapter devoted by Mr. Lambrechtsen to the history of the discovery is chiefly abstracted from the journal of the third voyage of this intrepid navigator, as preserved in Purchas' collection, and from the Anniversary Discourse delivered by the Rev. Dr. Samuel Miller before the New York Historical Society, in which that learned gentleman has collected and detailed the circumstances of this important event, with his usual accuracy of investigation and perspicuity of language. The voyage, Mr. Lambrechtsen farther shows from other sources, was undertaken under the immediate auspices of the Amsterdam directors of the West India Company in opposition to the opinion of those of Zealand. He is however too good a Zealander to let this pass without first observing that the Zealanders had long preceded the Hollanders in their attempt to discover the north-west passage, so that of course their opposition to Hudson's undertaking could not have arisen from any want of enterprise, and must be imputed solely to an error of judgment.

Nor does he forget to notice Dr. Miller's hypothesis, which would transfer from Hudson to the Florentine Verrazzano the honor of having, 'in the first ship broke the unknown

wave' of the wide circling bay of New York and the majestic stream of the *Great River of the Mountains.* We confess that we were somewhat astonished to find, that ardent as Mr. Lambrechtsen always is for the glory of Dutch seamanship, he examines this question with much coolness and candour, and though he suggests some probable arguments against Verrazzano's claim, is by no means positive that it is entirely without foundation.

This is followed by an account of the voyages and settlements made by private adventurers from Holland, under the general sanction of the States General, in 1610 and 1614, and by a digression on the history of the Swedish establishments in New Jersey and Delaware. In 1621 the great and wealthy West India company turned their attention seriously towards the new colony, and we were happy to find our author confidently asserting that in all their transactions his countrymen most scrupulously respected the rights of the natives. 'Negotiations,' says he, 'were opened with the Indians to obtain the cession of different districts and islands, and these were fairly purchased on certain stipulated, though perhaps advantageous terms. In this manner were bought, Staten and Noten Island, Pavonia, Hoboken, with the Island of the Manhattans, so excellently fitted by nature for every commercial purpose.' And again, 'it is unquestionable that the honesty, with which the Dutch treated the savages was the principal cause of the success of their colony. Every treaty which they made was religiously observed; and never, or scarcely ever, did they attempt to take advantage of their ignorance.'

In the general rules prescribed by the States General to the West India company for the government of their foreign possessions it was also expressly declared, 'that the planters should be allowed to settle themselves freely on the coasts and along the banks of the navigable rivers, provided they satisfied the natives for the soil of which they took possession.'* We could have wished to have found something more respecting the foundation of New Amsterdam and Fort Orange, yet we have no right to complain of our author.

*This honourable testimony to the fairness of the Dutch policy towards their Indian neighbours is confirmed by Smith, who says, "the Dutch always had the art to maintain a friendship with the natives."
History of New York, part I.

He seems to have collected every thing within his reach, and is more satisfactory on these points than any English writer whom we have consulted. He next digresses to give a view of the progress of the puritan emigration and the establishment of those colonies in New England, which soon came into immediate collision with the government of the New Netherlands. The worthy historian of Connecticut, Dr. Trumbull, who has so hastily taken it for granted that "the Dutch were mere intruders in New England," will probably be not a little startled at the indignant vehemence with which this patriotic historian of the New Netherlands, in his turn, assails the intrusion of the English emigrants into the Dutch territory.

'It appears, says he, 'that thus far the English emigrants chiefly settled to the northward and eastward of the Fresh water river (the Connecticut) without approaching the district belonging to the Netherland West India Company, especially in the province of Connecticut; but the restless spirit of intolerance soon found an opportunity to disturb this peace. It might have been expected that these Puritans would have felt sufficient gratitude for the hospitality which they had so long experienced at Leyden and in other cities of Holland and Zealand, to have left the colonies of their benefactors unmolested. But pride and interest seemed in this instance to have entirely stifled every principle of prudence and gratitude. It is almost incredible that men who were too conscientious to make the slightest concession in any point of religious ceremonial—who were so penetrated with reverence for the Holy Scriptures, that they even thought fit to decorate their cities and villages with scripture names, should have, with so little reflection or regard to anterior possession, intruded upon the rights of their Netherland neighbours and Christian brethren.' pp. 42, 43.

We think that, legally speaking, the merits of the case are with Mr. Lambrechtsen, but this *tirade* is a great deal too violent. Neither the facts of the discovery nor the geography of the country were thoroughly known to either party; and even if we were to allow that the fathers of Connecticut were absolute and wilful *squatters*, still, considering the circumstances under which they acted and the state of the country at that time, we cannot deem them guilty of any great breach of morality or violation of honour.

The various causes of disagreement between the Dutch and English governments, and the contentions between the colonists about their limits towards the Connecticut or Versche River and on Long Island, are then perspicuously detailed, together with the discussions which took place at Hartford in 1650, between the English commissioners and Governor Stuyvesant, or as Mr. Lambrechtsen spells the name, Stuivezand.

He hurries rapidly over the war between Cromwell and the United Provinces in 1650, and concludes this portion of his work with an account of an ineffectual attempt at a final adjustment of the colonial boundaries, which was made by the Dutch ambassadors in England during the course of those negotiations which took place after the treaty of peace in 1654.

A chapter is devoted to relating the cession of a part of New Netherlands by the West India company to the city of Amsterdam. The magistrates of that city were induced to enter into this negotiation from the hope of forming such establishments as would enable them to draw all their naval stores from their own possessions, instead of depending upon the friendly dispositions of the Northern powers. In March 1656 this bargain was concluded, by which the directors of the West India company ceeded to the city of Amsterdam 'that portion of their territory, as it appears to me,' says Mr. Lambrechtsen, 'which was situated between the South and North Rivers, and which (as is recorded in the statutes of the council of Amsterdam) was in possession of the West India company *titulo emptionis;*' in other words, all that territory which now constitutes the state of New Jersey and the counties of Rockland, Orange and Delaware, and perhaps Ulster and Sullivan, in the state of New York. The consideration paid for this was 700,000 guilders, or about 280,000 dollars. As soon as the States General had approved of this arrangement, the city entered with great spirit into the business of colonization, and we learn from the correspondence of Count D'Estrades, that before 1665 they had expended in this way above two millions of florins in addition to the original purchase money. Mr. Lambrechtsen here mentions a fact which is new to us, and which certainly adds not a little dignity to the descent of the original population of the Dutch North American colonies.

Christendom has never seen a sect more pure in its origin and character, of more primitive simplicity and undissembled sanctity, than that of the humble bishops and holy martyrs and confessors of the valleys of Piedmont.

'Religious intolerance,' says the historian, 'again assisted in the execution of this design. More than three hundred Waldenses, who had fled to Amsterdam from the persecution of their sovereign, the Duke of Savoy, were there provided with all necessaries, and soon sailed for New Netherlands where they arrived before the winter. In the succeeding spring they were followed by about three hundred more, and some time after by a considerable number of others of different ranks.' p. 65.

No authority is cited for this statement, but it agrees perfectly with the dates of the Waldensian persecution. Mosheim states that the Waldenses of Piedmont were oppressed and persecuted in the most barbarous manner during the greatest part of the seventeenth century. 'This persecution was carried on with peculiar marks of rage and enormity in the years 1655, 1686 and 1696, and seemed to portend nothing less than the total destruction and entire extinction of that unhappy nation. The most horrid scenes of violence and bloodshed were exhibited, and the small numbers of the Waldenses that survived them, are indebted for their existence and support, precarious and uncertain as it was, to the continual intercession made for them by the English and Dutch governments, &c. *Mosheim's Ecclesiastical history, Cent.* xvii. *Sect.* ii. part ii. The United Provinces at that period could boast of being the asylum for the persecuted of all Europe. 'Those prudent and prosperous states,' said Roger Williams in a work published just about this time, 'have gone far (though driven by Spanish persecution to it) in taking off the yoak from the necks of Dutch and English, French, yea Popish and Jewish consciences. For all which (though but mercy, though but justice and humanity to fellow mankind) he that runs may read the truth of God's never failing promises, Blessed are the *merciful* for they shall obtain *mercy*.'

The few accounts of the transactions between the Dutch colonists and their Swedish neighbours on the Delaware, which Mr. Lambrechtsen was able to consult, are full of contradictions and confusion, so that he has been able to do little more than to offer such conjectures as may serve to explain

and reconcile these statements, and at the same time to gratify his usual spirit of national feeling and to place the conduct of his countrymen in the most advantageous point of view. We have been informed that the New York Dutch records are sufficiently full on this subject, and as measures have lately been taken for their transcription and translation, this chasm in the early history of the middle states will soon be supplied; though we fear that most of our readers take as little interest in the grave negotiations and petty wars of New Amsterdam and New Sweedland, as Milton did in the ancient wars and revolutions of the Saxon Heptarchy, which he compares for dignity and importance to the fights of kites and crows.

The first returns from the territory ceded to Amsterdam were so discouraging, that in 1660 the magistrates of the city determined to re-surrender their rights to the company, who on their side refused to take the bargain off their hands. But the prospect soon brightened; the population augmented rapidly, and besides the great indirect advantages of commerce, the city derived from its American possessions a clear annual revenue of 60,000 guilders, and the directors of the West India company were sanguine enough to express their belief that the New Netherlands would soon be equal in value to the Dutch East India colonies, and very speedily 'become a gold mine to Amsterdam and the whole United Republic.'

At length, however reluctantly, our author arrives at the gloomy period of the conquest of the New Netherlands in 1664, and he participates most deeply in the regret, mortification, and indignation with which the news of the surprize of New Amsterdam was received in Holland. The whole affair of Charles II's wars against Holland was so disgraceful, that no English writer, not even the jacobite David Hume, has ventured to defend them, and the seizure of New York, before any declaration of war, was a measure which even the profligate monarch himself did not dare to justify.*

In a former part of his volume, Mr. Lambrechtsen had amused himself with a digression on the ecclesiastical history of Modern Europe, in which he ingeniously traced the manner in which an all-wise and overruling Providence had constantly evolved good from evil, and compelled Persecution and

* See Hume's England, Chap. lxiv. and lxv.

Tyranny to furnish materials for building up the temple of religious and political freedom. He does not seem, however, to have perceived that the conquest of New York was another signal example of the same great and consoling truth. Considered simply by itself, it was a measure perfectly in character with that foolish and profligate system of administration of which it formed a part; but in the ordinary course of human events, how essential was it in order to spread that unity of feeling, manners, and language over the whole North American continent, which could alone prepare this people for their struggles for Independence and for the duties of self-government.

But Mr. Lambrechtsen is not left without his consolation, and it is one worthy of a good patriot and a good Zealander. 'However severely the loss of this respectable colony was felt in this country, it was yet a little soothed by the capture of the English colony of Surinam in the beginning of 1667, by a Zealand captain, Abraham Krijnszoon, who was sent thither by the state of Zealand with three ships, which colony, in conformity to the provisions of the treaty of Breda, remained subject to our government. As often as we speak of Surinam, our only possession on the coast of Guiana, we must remember with gratitude the name of its gallant conqueror, who, when the New Netherlands were plucked from the crown of our *Father-land*, placed there this pearl in its stead where it still continues to sparkle.' p. 80.

In 1673, the colony of New Netherlands was retaken by the gallant admiral Evertsen, and 'it is easy to conceive,' says our author, 'how the remaining Dutch planters must have rejoiced from their hearts at this glorious triumph.' Evertsen, who by the way was a native of Zealand, soon after took the island of St. Eustatia. 'This triumph,' adds Mr. Lambrechtsen 'also deserves our gratitude as one among the many heroic achievements of the Evertsen family. This Commodore, Cornelis Evertsen, inherited the valour and skill of his father and uncle, (who both, in the same year, fell gloriously in battle) and would have certainly restored New Netherlands to its parent country had its preservation been any way possible.' p. 88. We do not doubt it at all—we will take our author's word for it that Evertsen was worthy of all his praises. But we could have wished that he had found time from the eulogy of his Zealand heroes, to have given us some

authentic account of the life and former services of Governor Stuyvesant, and to have bestowed a word or two of commendation on that old soldier's stubborn and chivalrous spirit. If the Governor had been a classical scholar, he might, as he retired indignantly from New York to his country seat after the surrender of the fort in 1664, have justly applied to himself the words of Hector.

> Hostis habet muros, ruit alto a culmine Troja:
> Sat patriæ Priamoque datum: Si Pergama dextrâ
> Defendi possent, etiam *hâc* defensa fuissent.

Mr. Lambrechtsen has added a few particulars of what took place during the short time for which the Dutch retained their colony after its re-conquest; most of these are new to us, especially a letter from the magistrates of New York to their High Mightinesses the States General, which is very curious for the view it presents of the state and prospects of the colony.

In 1674 peace was again concluded between the Republic and Charles II, and in pursuance of the treaty 'The States General made a cession of New Netherlands to England in which the West India company concurred. In this manner, the colony became once more subject to the English crown, and was lost forever to the parent country.'

The volume closes with an elaborate and well argued inquiry into the right of European possession in the New Netherlands, in which the Dutch claims are boldly supported in their fullest extent. We decidedly agree with Mr. Lambrechtsen in his general argument; but having already considered the subject so largely,* we must refrain from trespassing on the patience of our readers by any farther discussion of this obsolete controversy.

To the volume is annexed an excellent and very curious map of the whole country claimed as the New Netherlands. The outline is from the latest and most accurate map of Arrowsmith, in which the original Indian and Dutch names are inserted from the old maps of Montanus and Vanderdonk; those of the islands, bays, and headlands having also been compared with the Marine Atlas of Arend Roggersen.

* See North American Review, No. XXII.—Review of Trumbull's History of Connecticut.

ART. VII.—*On the Pronunciation of the Greek Language. By John Pickering. A. A. S. Art.* xvi. *of Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.* Vol. IV.—Part I. Cambridge, Hilliard & Metcalf, 1818.

THE author of this memoir is not a mere scholar. Like others of our countrymen who have deserved well of letters, he has been obliged to prosecute his studies, "not in the soft obscurities of retirement, or under the shelter of academic bowers," but amidst the inconveniences and distractions of public life, and the fatigues of his honourable profession. He is already well known to our readers as the author of a **Vocabulary of Words and Phrases which have been supposed to be peculiar to the United States of America. To which is prefixed an Essay on the present state of the English Language in the United States.* And having thus done no little service to American literature, he is the first to call the attention of scholars in this country to the proper pronunciation of the Greek.

The pronunciation of this language adopted in Europe until the first part of the sixteenth century, was derived directly or indirectly from those learned Greeks, who just before, or immediately after the taking of Constantinople, (A. D. 1453) took refuge in Europe from the oppression of the Turks. Of these, Chrysoloras, Gaza, Trapezontius and several others fled to Italy, and the pronunciation derived from these and their disciples, was promulgated and taught in Germany about the year 1474, by *John Reuchlin.* This Reuchlinian or old pronunciation of the Greek prevailed in Germany until the time of Erasmus, who in his celebrated †Dialogue published first in 1528, undertook to introduce a reform. This Dialogue is said to have origined in a playful imposition of Henry Glareanus on the credulity of Erasmus, "quod sciret Erasmum plus satis rerum novarum studiosum, ac mire credulum." Mr. Pickering has enlivened his memoir with this story. Erasmus did not himself adopt his own system, or teach it to his pupils; yet because it was more assimilated to the pronunciation of the languages of Europe, and was supported by the authority of great names, the 'contagion,'

* See the North American Review, vol. iii. p. 355.

† De rectâ Latini Græcique Sermonis Pronunciatione, Dialogus. Republished by Havercamp in his *Sylloge Scriptorum qui. de Ling. Græc. verâ et rectâ pronuncione commentarios reliquerunt,* tom. 2. Ludg. Bat. 1740.

as Mr. Pickering calls it, spread, and the pronunciation of the Modern Greeks was by degrees neglected. This was effected the more easily, as the Ancient Greek was not studied for purposes of conversation.

It is the object of the memoir before us, to consider how nearly the pronunciation of the modern Greeks approximates to that of their ancestors.

'It may, perhaps, be thought that we cannot at this day satisfactorily ascertain the ancient pronunciation of Greek. It must undoubtedly be admitted, that we cannot arrive at all the delicate distinctions of accent, (as it is commonly called,) which few but *natives* ever acquire, even with the aid of a living instructer;—distinctions which change from one age to another in all nations. Such alterations have probably taken place in the successive periods of the *Greek* language. But, that the *general pronunciation* of this language has undergone any essential change in the course of eighteen centuries, I cannot believe to be the fact. On the contrary, I think it can be very satisfactorily shown, that little alteration has taken place even in that length of time. By adopting, therefore, the pronunciation of the present day, we can, as mathematicians express it, approximate very nearly to that of ancient times.' pp. 229, 230.

And in the genuine spirit of a scholar Mr. Pickering observes,

'Here, perhaps, the old and often recurring question may be asked (not however by scholars,) *of what use would it be, even if practicable, to ascertain the true pronunciation of the Greek Language?* With every lover of learning it would be a sufficient answer to say, that the fact itself, like any other thus ascertained, would gratify a liberal curiosity, by settling a long contested point in the literature of one of the most interesting nations of antiquity. It may be added, however, that it would afford us the substantial advantage, of putting within our power the means of tracing the etymologies of modern languages through the *oral* as well as *written* part of this admirable tongue, the influence of which has been felt among so many nations. It would also give a new interest to the study of Greek; for every man, who has attempted to acquire a language, feels with how much greater satisfaction he pursues the study of it, when he knows how to *pronounce* it, than when he is obliged, like the unfortunate deaf and dumb, to study merely its *written characters*. In truth, with all nations, except the singular people of China, the whole power of a language is believed to be in the *oral* part of it, or the pro-

nunciation;* and a scholar hardly feels satisfied, that he knows a language, till he has learned its pronunciation. But to all speculations on this point it is an answer, the force of which every scholar will feel, that could we but bring before our eyes the orator of Greece, and hear with our own ears the accents of that tongue, which swayed the destinies of his country, we should not stop to inquire, of what use it would be to know the pronunciation of the language which fell from it.' pp. 228, 229.

Our readers will gladly excuse us from "beating," as Dr. Johnson expresses it, "the track of the alphabet with sluggish resolution." We can do no adequate justice to the erudition and patient research, which characterize this memoir throughout, by any extracts which our limits will allow. We shall advert to the principles on which the whole argument depends,—in other words, to the various methods of proof by which the *approximation* of the Romaic pronunciation to that of the Ancient Greeks is thought to be maintained, and quote as much as we may to show the manner in which the investigation is pursued.

It is a remarkable circumstance in the history of the Greek Language, that, as Mr. Pickering observes, 'it cannot with strict propriety be ranked among those which are called *dead*.' The Greeks have remained an unmixed people in a peculiar manner, and a singular uniformity in their written language may be traced for more than twenty seven centuries. It is *inferred* from this circumstance that the pronunciation has also been essentially preserved. But this inference will be modified by a reference to some considerations which we shall cursorily mention. In the first place, it would seem

*"The Chinese (says Mr. Du Ponceau) consider the mode of conveying ideas to the mind through the eye, by means of written signs, as far superior to spoken words which communicate perceptions through the ear. 'The people of *Fan*, say they, (meaning the Europeans,) prefer sounds, and what they obtain enters by the ear; the Chinese prefer beautiful characters, and what they obtain enters by the eye.' 'It is, indeed, says Remusat, impossible to express in any language, the energy of those picturesque characters, which exhibit to the eye, instead of barren and arbitrary sounds, the objects themselves, figured and represented by their most characteristic traits, so that it would require several phrases to express the signification of a single word.'" *See the learned and philosophical* Memoir on English Phonology, *published in the Transactions of the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia*, by Mr. Du Ponceau; *who cites for the first of these quotations, Morrison's Chinese Dict. Introd.* p. vii.; *and for the other*, Remusat, p. 56.'

unwarrantable to ascribe to sounds that identity which belongs to their representatives. Letters and words have a definite form and may be transmitted entire, but sounds die in the utterance; and those who have observed the elements of their own pronunciation changed even since their childhood, will not be the first to believe that the spoken language of the Greeks could have escaped corruption.

The process by which sounds alter while their representatives remain unchanged, is so well described by Mr. Du Ponceau, in his memoir on English Phonology to which Mr. Pickering has paid a just tribute in calling it 'learned and philosophical,' that we quote the following passage. "Oral language is subject to change, and the pronunciation of words does not constantly remain the same. The variations which take place are slow and gradual, at first confined to a particular class of men or district of country, and a long time elapses before they are universally established. In the meanwhile the nation is divided in opinion as well as in practice, some taking the new, others adhering to the old pronunciation; but the combination of signs, by which a particular word is represented in writing, remains the same, and by the time that the new mode of pronouncing that word has finally prevailed, the eye, accustomed to recognize it under every fluctuation of its sounds, finds no necessity for an alteration in the manner of its spelling; for there is no analogy in nature between written signs and words spoken, any more than between words and ideas. Although alphabets may have been originally intended to represent mere sounds, the various combinations of their characters form at least a written language, which like that of the Chinese, conveys ideas directly to the mind, without passing through the mental ear, any more than words spoken pass through the mental eye." *Trans. Am. Phil. Society, Vol. I. New Series*, 1818. *No. XVII. English Phonology. By Peter S. Du Ponceau.* p. 233.

But there are some peculiar circumstances in the history of the Greeks which, it would seem, must have affected their spoken language. When Constantine founded the city which derived its name from him, and from which, in the 15th century, that pronunciation was derived which is proposed for adoption at the present day, he intended to make it a New Rome; and this was the name which he gave it at the yearly pageant which he caused to be exhibited. He induced by encourage-

ment of every kind, many of the most distinguished families of Italy, and a multitude of inferior rank, to leave that country, and establish themselves in the New City. "We may suppose," says Harris*, "therefore, that Latin was for a long time the *prevailing language* of the place, till in the course of years it was supplanted by Greek, the *common* language of the neighbourhood and the *fashionable acquired* language of every polite Roman." We know, further, that Justinian published in this city his Roman Law in Latin at the beginning of the sixth century, though it should be remarked that it was found necessary to publish it in Greek also; and here, too, the celebrated Priscian, about the same period taught the principles of Latin Grammar. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, we find, in the ceremonial of the Byzantine Court, certain formularies preserved, by which it is plain that the Latin was still preserved. They consist of Latin words in Greek characters, a specimen of which is preserved in the work of Harris to which we have already referred, and from which we have derived the facts above stated.

The vicissitudes in the political condition and relations of the Byzantine Greeks have been in the least degree propitious to the cultivation or preservation of letters or language. The thousand years preceding the taking of Constantinople was a period of the grossest rudeness and ignorance throughout the world. Monkery, the child of superstition, and chivalry the fanaticism of honour, prevailed in the forgetfulness of the arts, and in the sleep of literature. External wars, and internal dissentions, civil and religious, constantly oppressed the Greeks. The Persians and Arabians were their continual foes; and their city was taken and pillaged by the Latins, or armies of Western Europe, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and the Turks never ceased to assail it until they effected its subversion in the middle of the fifteenth century. From that time to the present, they have ruled without a competitor, and it has been uniformly their policy to prevent the cultivation of letters and arts by the subjugated Greeks. Still there is proof, that during all these calamities the torch of learning was handed from one to another, quite down to the restoration of letters, but through long spaces, and with a glimmering light; by

* Philological Inquiries, B. 297.

fits indeed its flame was pure and bright, but generally flickering and dying for want of aliment.

Before entering then more particularly on the subject, we should not, we think, be authorized to expect that a people, situated as the Greeks have been, could have preserved their pronunciation without great corruption. There is reason to believe that the Latin was the polite language of their metropolis for a considerable time,—they were, in every age, harassed by calamities of every kind—frequent invasions, civil dissensions, hot religious controversy; they were vanquished twice, and each time by a people speaking a different language; and their last conquerors, who yet hold them in subjection, have left nothing untried to crush their national feeling, break their spirits and check the progress of all liberal pursuits. We find, accordingly, on examining their language, those corruptions which are the natural effect of their political condition.

Brerewood, in his "Survey of the Languages of the world," published in 1611, and whom we quote principally on account of the period in which he wrote, says, "it (the modern Greek) is also much impaired, as touching pureness of speech, being overgrown with barbarousness," and quotes Bellorius to this effect. He afterwards says, that the "Sclavonian, Arabian, and Turkish are gotten into their language. But the greatest cause of corruption hath been bred at home, and proceeded from no other cause, than their own negligence and affectation." He then classes the corruptions under four heads, viz. Mutilation, Compaction, Confusion of sound, and Translation of accent; and observes, that from all these causes, "the difference is so great between the present and ancient Greek, that the Liturgy, which is yet read in the pure Greek tongue, namely, that of St. Basil, is not understood." Henninius,* in his very learned work on Greek accents, has this remark; "Magnis namque passibus ad barbariem tendebat Græcia, ita ut multa, ὄζα κονις, peregrina vocabula fœdarent elegantissimam linguam. § 25." He then states more particularly the sources whence this barbarism was derived, which he reduces to six.† I. The Hel-

* ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΟΣ ΟΡΘΩΙΔΟΣ. Seu Græcam Linguam non esse Pronuntiandam secundum Accentus; Dissertatio Paradoxa. 1724.

† As this work is very rarely to be met with in this country, we quote the original.

lenistic Jews, from whom the modern Greeks learned the vicious pronunciation of *β. η. υ.* II. The Greek Jurists, who "on set purpose" debased the elegance of the Greek by an

I. A Judæis Hellenistis habere videntur hodierni Græci vitiosam istam τῶν β. η. υ. pronuntiationem. Pronuntiant enim *Elefsini* ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἐλευσῖνι: *fita* pro βῆτα: *ef*, pro εν. Hellenistæ namque Judaismum secuti τὸ ב *dagessatum* ut *f* pronunciant: et secundum τοὺς LXXII. ἀντὶ τοῦ υ ו Judaicum legebant: loco τοῦ η *chirek longum.*

II. *Jurisconsulti Græci*, qui datâ operâ elegantiam Græcismi immixto Latinismo fœdarunt. Vide Basilica, Novellas, *Glossaria* Labbæi, Jcc. Græcos Theophilum, Harmenopulum &c. hi magnum momentum contulerunt ad exauctorandas diphthongos αι et ει, quas more Latino in Latinis Græce exaratis pronuntiasse videntur, ut πράιτωρ, *prætor*, etss.

III. *Arabes magno numero per Græciam Dispersi.* Ab iis didicêre Græculi τὸ *di* in *d* blæsum [*dhsal Arabicum*] vertere, quod *Arabum* est: hinc Ζάελος pro Διάελος in Græcis reperitur, quod miror viros etiam doctissimos fugisse. Ab iisdem habent, quod recentiores τὸ γι vertunt in ζ. v. g. pro Ἀγιαμὶ dicunt Ἀζαμὶ· sic et eisdem debent duras illas et peregrinas elementorum τζ. etss. juncturas, hodiernæ Græciæ et labenti olim perquam frequentes, et in nominibus propriis usitatissimas.

IV. *Aula Imperatoria*, quæ quotidie nova nomina cudendo plane *Græcismum* pessumdedit, cui rei vel unus *Codinus* fidem fecerit. In *lib. de Official. Palat. CPtani* in quo reperies σακελλάριον πρωτονοτάριον, πριμμικηρίους, δούκας, δομεστίκους, κοντοσταύλους, ραιφενδάριον, τζαγγαρίους, δρουγγαρίους, πρωτοβεστιάριον, κλαπωτὸν, et nescio quot meræ barbariæ infelices tribulos.

V. *Clerus Posteriorum Seculorum*, et illi, qui se ἱερεῖς, seu *sacros*, appellare solent, qui non minus sæviebant *fratesco* (1) et claustrali Græcismo in elegantiam Linguæ; quam crudelitate et invidiâ in optimos Auctores (2).

(1) Vide modo συνόδικα, Νομοκάνονα, Ἀρχιερατικὰ, Εὐχολόγια, et Μηνολόγια Græcorum, et vera me dixisse deprehendes. (2) Vide notabile quid ex Halcyonio, ap. Colomes. *Cim. Liter. Cap.* xv.

VI. *Populi Peregrini, ad quos Lingua Græca derivabatur*, qui Linguam et Pronuntiationem varie corruptam corrupêre ulterius. Sic Latini sequiores maximam partem τὸ AI ut *e laxum*, τὸ OI et EI, ut *i longum* pronunciabant, quod nimirum Latinismus eas diphthongos per *æ* et *ī longum* redderet; quod Græculi adulatores imitati harum diphthongorum genuinum sonum depravarunt,

intermixture of Latin. To these he ascribes the spoiling the αι and ευ of their diphthongal power. III. The Arabians dispersed in great numbers over Greece. From these was learned the obscure sound of *d*, "[*dhsal Arabicum*]" also to change γι into ζ and to make that unhappy combination of letters τζ used so much in proper names. IV. Imperial Court, which daily coined new terms. V. Clergy of the later ages, who treated the Greek language with no less indignity than they treated the Greek authors. VI. Foreigners, who having borrowed the Greek, debased it, and were afterwards imitated by the Greeks themselves. Schmidt,* the author of the latest modern Greek Grammar printed on the continent of Europe, compares the condition of this people, to that of Europe during the ages of chivalry. Lord Byron's account of them is familiar to most readers. But it is not necessary to multiply authorities on a matter of fact so well known.

Now, though we admit the pronunciation of the Modern Greek to have remained as little changed as the written language, which, as we have attempted to show, is a mere assumption, still we must allow that it has widely departed from the pronunciation of the ancient Greeks.

We know that general remarks of this kind are sometimes considered irrelative and inconclusive. But we have thought them necessary to qualify the inference of identity of sound from identity of written character; that the circumstance of the Greeks remaining an *unmixed people* may not have an efficacy which does not belong to it, and as having a direct bearing on the question of *usage*.

We proceed to a more particular examination of those facts and principles, on which the argument for the approximation of the spoken Romaic to the spoken Greek of ancient times depends.—We say *approximation*, for this is all that is contended for; a perfect resemblance is not asserted by the most earnest advocates for the adoption of the modern pronunciation.

quæ depravatio hodieque apud multos Germanos, præcipue Helvetios, Suevos et Saxonas, nonnullosque populos ad septemtriones frequentatur, illi enim maximam partem omnia Græculorum recentiorum vitia solenniter in pronuntiatione receperunt, et deteriora sequuntur, quamvis meliora videant. pp. 19—21.

* Neugriechische Sprachlehre von J. A. E. Schmidt verpflichtetem, Dolmetscher der neugriech, Sprache. Vorrede, iii. Leip. 1808.

Among the most important methods of identifying the sound of letters in ancient and modern times, are the descriptions of the manner in which they are formed, by the Grammarians and Rhetoricians of antiquity; particularly those of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. These, it must be admitted, are sufficiently minute, and doubtless as accurate as it is possible to make them. But all *descriptions* of *sounds* must necessarily be imperfect, and all descriptions of articulate sounds altogether futile. And there are two very sufficient reasons for this. First, because the motions of the minute membranes of the throat, and those of the tongue, lips, and nose, which are essential to the production of an articulate sound, are exceedingly delicate, and can never be described, nor indeed ever known. And secondly, because we know very little of the human voice, as used in spoken sounds, and are not able to say in what articulation, strictly considered, consists. "We can account for musical sounds, but philosophy has not yet been able to explain the formation of a single articulated letter." The voice, considered as a musical instrument, is strictly analogous to all other musical instruments, but "no instrument, formed upon a philosophical acquaintance with the subject, has ever been made, that will utter a single letter.* We know of only two essential distinctions of sound, tone and intensity;—the one depending upon the frequency of the vibrations, the other upon their strength. But what is that, which distinguishes the vowels from each other, when uttered upon the same key, and with the same degree of loudness? What is that, which enables us to distinguish a thousand voices, and a thousand sounds of the same voice, where, it should seem, neither tone nor intensity are concerned?" A practical proof of the futility of all attempts to describe articulated sounds, may be found in the failure of attempts of this nature in our modern grammars. It is matter of common remark, that we cannot learn to pronounce any modern language but from living lips. The very description of the process in some grammars fills the learner with dismay, and in other cases, as for example, the guttural *ch* of the German and other modern languages (to which the Greek χ in Mr. Pickering's table is likened) is commonly passed

* We are aware that Kratzenstein and others have made instruments which imitate tolerably the sound of most of the vowels; but they have been made by unwearied and repeated trials, without the assistance of any theory on the subject.

over as having nothing in our language to which they can be compared. The same remark applies to the German diphthongs, ö when long, and ü; to the French u, eu, and their nasal terminations; and to the English *th* to all foreigners. And yet with regard to the modern languages, we have the great advantage of some *sounds* which may serve, however imperfectly, as the ground of comparison. May we not infer then that any description of the movement of the organs employed in producing an articulate sound, which is all that an ancient can do for us, must be necessarily imperfect? And admitting that we could ascertain the pronunciation of single letters, we have done little towards ascertaining their power when combined. We know the difficulty of learning to pronounce a language which is spoken to us habitually; how then can we learn the sounds of that which is not spoken to us at all? And on the supposition that we could fix the pronunciation of single words, we do nothing towards establishing the tone and time, the rhythm and melody of the sentences; this we believe can never be done by any description in cold, dead words.

Another method of approximating to the pronunciation of antiquity, is by some comparisons of spoken sounds, which the ancients have transmitted, to those which are made by animals. Mr. Pickering, it should be observed however, is no advocate for this very whimsical method. The sounds which the inferior animals make are, in the first place, asserted to be uniform in every age, and on this assumption the argument depends. Various sounds have been put in requisition in aid of this method, and not only those of animals, but various other sounds, as for example, those of whip lashes and trumpets. Erasmus, in his celebrated dialogue, to which we have before referred, makes a serious argument* for the correct enunciation of the Latin K by the frogs in their croaking; for in every successive age of frogs, the ligatures of their tongues, we are assured, must remain unaltered. The letter S, it seems, is indebted

Ursa. Nam his (ranis) hæc litera K peculiaris est, quum audimus illas quotidie modulantes illud suum βρεκεκεκέξ κοὰξ κοὰξ, in quo non percipitur illud crassius, et ad γ, sibilumque vergens, quod nunc audimus in vulgata Græcorum pronuntiatione. Leo. Certum est argumentum. *Nam ranæ non mutant cantionem suam tot jam seculis, quum homines nihil sinant esse diuturnum.* Ursa. Non absurde dicis, siquidem *ranis lingua summa religata est, postrema quæ fauces spectat libera, ut aliter sonare non possint. Haver. Syl. Dia. de Rec. L. Gr. et Lat. Pron.* p. 125.

to the snakes not only for the sibilation of its sound, but also for the sinuosities of its figure. We have derived, we are told too, our M from the lowing of oxen, our B from sheep, our O from asses, our R from quarrelling dogs, and our A from squalling babies. We put this means of approximation entirely out of the question, as ridiculously fanciful;—and only observe, that as these sounds want even the distinctness of those which are articulate, they cannot be any basis for a comparison, and if they were, the supposition that they have always remained unaltered is altogether gratuitous.

There is one other method by which it has been attempted to approximate to the spoken sounds of antiquity, and this is by an examination of cases of *Parechesis* in the ancient writers, or of those words whose orthography differs, but which are presumed or are known to be of similar sound when pronounced. An example of this is the word *bini*, which Cicero cites in one of his letters, as an equivocal word, identical in sound with βινει in Greek, which has caused great difficulty in the Erasmian controversy. We only remark upon this method, that it can merely determine the fact that different letters or combinations of letters had the same sound, but does nothing towards determining what that sound was. Certain letters or words sound like other letters or words, whose sound we do not know and cannot determine. Thus the whole force of the argument of the Erasmians, in the instance referred to, depends on the assumption (which appears from Pickering's memoir to have been unwarrantable) that the β of the Latins had the sound of the same letter in modern languages. As this method of approximation is much relied upon, we shall quote another instance derived from the memoir before us.

From the Herculanean MSS. and from ancient inscriptions we know that ει had with the Greeks the sound of ι; Eustathius, in his commentary on Homer, gives as an example of the most perfect *parechesis*, the words ΊΡΙ and ΊΗΡΗ, hereafter cited; the letters ι and η are therefore identical in sound. We know then, that the diphthong ει sounded, when pronounced, like η and also that η sounded like ι. But what was the ancient sound of ι? Here we are referred to another source, and are told that it is incontestibly like the English *ee*, that this is 'universally admitted by scholars,' that is, it rests upon authority or usage. But notwithstanding this general agree-

ment of scholars, the description of η by Dionysius of Halicarnassus differs from his description of ε; and in the Herculanean MSS. the copyist mistakes η sometimes for ε, which ast letter was pronounced, as scholars also universally admit, like our *e* in the word *there*. It is by the same process that η, υ, ῃ, οι, υι, are proved to have been sounded like ι. It is *admitted however, by the Reuchlinians, or advocates for modern Greek pronunciation, that there was a difference between the letters in the flourishing ages of Greece, but it is said, that the Greeks did not observe this distinction when they spoke carelessly, and it was not imitable by foreigners.

The same remark will apply to all arguments derived from Etymology; the transcription of the letters of one alphabet into those of another,—of the names of places and persons, and technical terms which cannot be translated,—as of Latin into Greek, and Greek into Latin, of the Greek into the Oriental, and the Oriental into the Greek languages; and to the mistakes of copyists. If we admit the justness of the comparison, the similarity is established; but the basis of the comparison, which is chiefly valuable to us, rests upon the general admission of scholars. But what is the value of this unanimity among scholars? That there may be no fallacy in the use of the phrase, 'universal or general admission,' we observe, that it can only mean, that those scholars who have attended to this controversy, which as we have stated arose in the beginning of the sixteenth century, have not called the pronunciation of certain letters in question. So far as this is an argument of mere authority we are not disposed to give it any great weight. The means of approximating to the true pronunciation are greater now, as Mr. Pickering observes, than they were at any previous time, and scholars therefore of the present day are better qualified to judge, than at any former period since the question arose. The memoir before us is a proof of this, for after an examination of the principal controvertists, we hazard little in saying, that it is one of the fairest and most lucid statements that has been made of the subject. And though we allow that this universal admission is to be taken in its full force, it does nothing towards assuring us of the pronunciation of the Greek for fifteen centuries before—which is, in fact, the point to be determined.†

* Vide Schmidt, § 3, p. 634, *Haver. Syl.* before referred to.

† The following remark of Erasmus Schmidt, who was a stanch Reuch-

But there is another argument kindred to this last, which is, in our opinion, the only important one in favour of the Reuchlinian or Modern Greek pronunciation. We mean the general agreement of those nations on the continent of Europe, who more immediately derived their language from their southern neighbours, in the pronunciation of the five principal vowels, and some of the organic sounds, and which is also common to the Modern Greeks.* This is true however only under certain conditions which we need not specify. It is not easy to assign any other cause for this agreement than a transmission of these letters unchanged from the same common source, for it is a mistaken idea that these vowel sounds are the only simple and elementary ones in spoken language.† It is not, we think, an inference altogether unauthorized, that the sounds of the five vowels and some of the consonants, as heard in the modern languages of the continent of Europe, are similar to those which were heard in Ancient Greece. But this is to be restricted to these vowels and organic sounds when pronounced singly, or to their simplest combinations; and we have therefore made but a small progress in ascertaining the pronunciation of antiquity. These sounds are

linian, and which he used against the Erasmians, we think may by a parity of reasoning be applied to the Reuchlinians of the present day.

"Dicat primum aliquis, quomodo Romani diphthongos æ et œ protulerint; et mox dicemus ei, quomodo, Græci αι et οι, quæ duæ illis duabus respondent, pronunciarint. Dicat aliquis, quomodo vel Romani *v* consonantem, vel Hebræi τὸ ו extulerint: et dicemus ei, quomodo αυ, ευ, ηυ, item ϐ sit pronunciandum Eodem enim modo, si tonum excipias, pronunciatum fuit, Ὀκταϐία et *Octavia*, item דָּוִיד et Δαϐὶδ." *Haver. Syl. tom.* ii. p. 651.

* The French differ in the sound of their *u* from their continental neighbours, and we are not aware of any other difference in the vowel sounds.

† There are many more simple elementary sounds than is commonly imagined. Joshua Steele, "in an Essay towards establishing the Melody and Measure of Speech to be expressed and perpetuated by peculiar symbols, London 1775," asserts "that there are in nature neither more nor less than seven vowel sounds, besides diphthongs, for which only five letters are used by Europeans." Mr. Du Ponceau has shown that there are at least seven *vocal* sounds in the English, and that there are besides twenty one organic or consonant, and two aspirate—in the whole *twenty-nine pure elementary sounds*, and says, "that the sounds which the human voice can and does produce, among the various nations of the earth, are so various, and their shades and varieties so delicate and nice, that there is probably no man on earth who has ears to comprehend and vocal organs sufficiently flexible to articulate them all."

modified by aspirations, by duration, by a nasal pronunciation, by union with each other, and especially by a complicated union with organic sounds or consonants. And all these variations must have been in an especial manner modified by the peculiar circumstances of the Greeks which we have before mentioned. It is no easy thing to determine the sounds of a living language, and orthoepists have only just begun to pursue the subject philosophically. And we confess that an attempt to approximate very nearly to the spoken language of a people who lived eighteen centuries ago, seems to us quite hopeless.

The letters chiefly in dispute between the Reuchlinians and Erasmians, according to Schmidt, who appears to be the fairest, most judicious and learned of the old controvertists, are β, η, ο, υ, and all the diphthongs. The controversy with regard to all these, Mr. Pickering has fully and profoundly considered, and given the results in this excellent memoir, interspersed with very valuable original remarks. He has adverted also to the soft sound of γ before the vowels ε and ι, and also its sound of ν when it precedes another γ, κ, ξ, or χ. Mr. Pickering is the first to notice a peculiarity in the pronunciation of λ before ι, υ, and the diphthongs which sound like *ee*, by the Modern Greeks, when it has the liquid sound of the Italian *gl;* and has also noted another peculiarity in the pronunciation of ν before ι, υ, ε, when it has the sound of *gn*, as in *bagnio*, which has not hitherto been observed.* We mention these last facts as an example of Mr. Pickering's critically nice discernment of sounds, and of the accuracy which is conspicuous in every part of the memoir.

This investigation has been made by Mr. Pickering with the results of this long controversy before him, amd the fairness of the inquiry may be inferred from the circumstance, that 'it led to a strong conviction in his own mind very different from the opinion he once entertained of it.' He has also with great judgment availed himself of the labours of modern scholars. Among these the Herculanean MSS. are of the first importance. Some idea of his laborious and eru-

* Neither of these distinctions are preserved in the Neugriechische Sprachlehre of Schmidt, Leip. 1808. But as they have only been derived from the utterance of two persons, they can hardly be adopted without further inquiry. It is possible, at least, that it may be a provincial pronunciation.

dite research may be gained from his account of the letter H, which we quote entire. It embraces several of the different methods of approximation, which we have attempted to examine.

'It has been the fate of this letter, as writers have remarked, to be the subject of as much controversy as any in the whole alphabet. *Erasmus* and his followers contended, that the *ancients* pronounced it like what they called long *E* in Latin; by which they meant a sound like *a* in our own word *fate*. The *Modern Greeks* pronounce it like our *ee*; which is the sound given to it by the English, and which we have always been accustomed to give it. As far as respects ourselves, therefore, we have no dispute with the *Modern Greeks* about this letter. But the writers on the continent of Europe have generally considered that pronunciation as erroneous; it will, therefore, be necessary, to notice briefly the grounds, upon which the two modes are defended.

'That this letter at one period had a sound differing in some respects from that which it now has in Greece, must be inferred from the description given of it by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, which is different from his description of the sound of *Iota;* and this latter indisputably had the sound of long *e* (or *ee*) in our language. In the Herculanean manuscripts too, the *η* is sometimes used by the copyist, through mistake, instead of *Epsilon*. But there is also a great mass of evidence tending to show, that about the commencement of the Christian era or not long afterwards, the *η* and *ι* were both pronounced alike; and, if we can ascertain the pronunciation of the language as far back as that period, it will be sufficiently near the classic ages of Greece, to satisfy the most fastidious ear of *foreigners*, as we are in respect to the language. The arguments on both sides of the question respecting the *η*, are very minutely stated (from various authors but not without remarks of his own) by *Velastus*, a Greek monk of the island of *Chios*, in the *Dissertation* to which I have before referred, and in which upwards of thirty quarto pagess are devoted to this letter alone.* I shall here only give a very general view of the reasoning on the subject; and, in doing this, it will be necessary for the present to assume as true, that the diphthong *ει had the same sound with the ι*; which, by the aid of the *Herculanean Manuscripts*, in addition to the ancient monuments heretofore discovered, may now be proved beyond a doubt to have been the case.

'In prosecuting this inquiry, we are enabled to go back at once

* Thomæ Stanislai Velasti, Societatis Jesu, *Dissertatio de Literarum Græcarum Pronuntiatione*, Romæ, 1751.

to the twelfth century by means of the writings of the learned and venerable *Eustathius;* and he, it should be recollected, expressly informs his readers, that his *Commentary on Homre* consists chiefly of *selections from the works of others*, whom even in that age he styles "*the ancients.*" Among those writers, (upwards of three hundred and fifty in number, according to the catalogue in Fabricius,*) we do, indeed, find the names of philosophers and critics and grammarians from the very earliest periods of Grecian litarature. Now *Eustathius*, in the course of his Commentary, gives several instances of what he calls παρήχησις, or words, which are alike *in sound* but different in *signification;* and as examples he gives these lines of Homer, among others, relating to the letter η:

Τὸν καὶ ὑπεδδΕΙσαν μάκαρες θεοὶ οὐδέ τ' ἴδΗσαν.
Iliad A. 406.

——— χόλος δὲ μιν ἄγριος ΗΡΕΙ.
ΗΡΗ δ' οὐκ ἔχαδε στήθος χόλον.
Iliad Δ. 23, 24.

ΙΡΙ θεὰ, τίς γὰρ σε θεῶν ἐμοὶ ἄγγελον ἧκε;
ΗΡΗ με προέηκε.
Iliad Σ. 182, 184.

Upon which last example he particularly remarks, that the Poet has here placed two words near each other, which form the most perfect kind of *parechesis;* which is, when the words are exactly similar *in sound*, but dissimilar in *signification and orthography*—
Ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων τίθησι, κατὰ τοιαύτην παρήχησιν, παντελῶς μὲν ἠχοῦσαν ταυτὸν, ἀνομοιότητα δὲ ἔχουσαν κατὰ τὴν ἔννοιαν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν γραφήν.†

'In another instance (*Iliad* O. 143, cited by *Velastus*) he uses even more emphatic language; for after citing these lines,

Ἥρη δ' Ἀπόλλωνα καλίσσατο δώματος ἐκτὸς,
Ἶριν θ', ἥ τε θεοῖσι μετάγγελος ἀθανάτοισι,

he remarks, that the poet describes *Iris* paraphrastically, as the messenger of the gods, lest the perfect similarity of sound in Ἥρη and Ἶρις should mislead one, and *Juno* should be supposed to have been called for by *Juno* herself.

'But it is needless to multiply examples of this kind; and I shall merely refer to the two lists of words at the end of *Scapula's* and some other Lexicons; one of which (by *John Philoponus*, as Henry Stephens affirms) will carry us back to the seventh century, and the other, by *Ammonius*, to the fourth century; from which last work, we may proceed still farther back, by means of

* Fabric. Bib. Græc. tom. i. p. 306.
† *Eustath.* p. 240. edit. Florent. 1730.

a writer there cited, by the name of *Didymus;* who thinks it necessary to point out the difference in *signification* between the two words λΗτουργεῖν and λΙτουργειν; which, if they had been so unlike *in sound*, as the Erasmian pronunciation of η would make them, would not have been classed with the words in this Collection.

'The argument founded on *translations* of Roman names into Greek is also applied in the case of the η, as well as of the other letters; and it is observed, that *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, and other Greek writers, rendered the Roman *i* by the η of their own language. But on the other hand, the *Roman* writers frequently rendered the Greek η by their own *e*. Again, it may be replied, that (as *Gellius* observes) the ancient Romans used *e* and *i* indifferently; and Quintilian informs us of the same fact; and, by way of example, he remarks, that the ear cannot plainly distinguish whether the Latin word *Here* has the sound of *I* or of *E;* and that in the works of many authors he found *sibe* and *quase* for *sibi* and *quasi*.*

'But the strongest argument from *translations* is derived from the *Oriental* Languages, because of their antiquity and permanency. *Velastus* alludes to this; but contents himself with referring the reader to *Wetstein's* Dissertation. It is, however, urged with much force against the Erasmians, by *Martin* and by *Schmidt*. The former, in his reply to *Metkerke*, (who had incautiously adduced it as being favourable to his own cause,) thus presses his adversary: "What shall I say on this point, *Metkerke;* or rather what shall I not say? In truth, when you appeal to the *Hebrews*, you betray your utter ignorance—*Hebræos prorsus non intelligis*—nor, as it appears, have you ever read a passage in their language. For what in the Greek is rendered by η, is in the Hebrew *i* long, [that is *ee*] and therefore in *Greek* it must be pronounced in the same manner." *Martin* then examines the Hebrew words referred to by *Metkerke*. *Schmidt* remarks, that in a multitude of Greek words which are retained in the *Syriac* Version of the New Testament, the Greek η is *always* rendered by *Hirik* and *never* by ֵ or by ֵי— thus,

כאפא from κηφᾶς, Matt. xvi. 18.
פַּרקלִיטָא from παράκλητος, John xiv. 16.
דִיתִיקא from διαθήκη, Matt. xxvi. 28, Luke i. 72.
קורנִילִיוס from κορνήλιος, Acts x. 1.
פַּנטִיקוסטי from πεντηκοστή, Acts ii. 1.
זאטמא from ζήτημα, Acts xviii. 15.

* Quintil. Instit. lib. 1. capp. 4 and 7.

with some other examples, which it is needless to particularize in this place.

'It is only necessary to notice one other argument in this case; which is the syllable Βῆ used by *Cratinus* (as before observed) to express the cry of a sheep. In addition to the remarks made under the letter *Beta*, I need only observe, (as *Velasius* does, after *Fabricius*,) that there were two writers of the name of *Cratinus*, both of whom lived long before the time of Plato, Thucydides and Pericles; a period, to which no one will attempt to trace the pronunciation of the Greek language, and at which time the letter η might possibly have had the full sound of our long *a* throughout all Greece. But it is worthy of remark, that the word Βῆ is spoken of by *Suidas* and the author of the *Etymologicon Magnum* as an *Attic* word— ΒΗ, τὸ μιμητικὸν τῆς τῶν προβάτων φωνῆς, οὐχὶ ΒΑΙ, λέγεται Αττικῶς;* an expression, from which we must infer, that the word in question was peculiar to the people of Attica; and that the people of other parts of Greece would have used another word, to express the same sound.' pp. 269—274.

The following important statements and remarks conclude the memoir.

'In addition to these particular observations on the letters, I cannot but call the attention of the members of the Academy to a few facts, which well deserve the consideration of scholars. Of these, a very important one is the *universality* of the pronunciation of the Modern Greeks; which is found to be substantially the same in the islands and other parts of Greece, quite remote from each other and having little or no connexion by means of commerce or otherwise. Another remarkable circumstance is, the use of *ancient Greek* in their Church-service; which has been continued from the first propagation of Christianity to the present day. Now the just pronunciation of the language of their Church-service has ever been scrupulously attended to; and the present mode has been handed down with extreme care from the earliest periods. The *nation* itself, also, remains to this time a distinct race of people; and it should be recollected, that the oppression of their Turkish conquerors has only served to keep them the more imbodied, and the less liable to the effects of a necessary intercourse with each other.

'How cautious then ought we, as foreigners, to be in condemning the invariable usages of a people thus circumstanced, in such a question as the pronunciation of their language. We perceive that the most eminent scholars have entertained opinions respecting it, which later discoveries have proved to be unfounded. At

* Etymol. mag. p. 196. *edit. Sylburg.*

one period, for example, it was contended by the learned of Europe, that the γ before γ, κ, &c. was not to be pronounced like ν; that υ was not to be sounded like simple ι, &c. as the Modern Greeks pronounce them. These opinions now appear to have been erroneous, and the usage of the *Modern*, is found to be conformable to that of the *ancient* Greeks. The learned also once thought, that the ancient Greeks used only *capital* letters, and that the *small letters*, now used, were the invention of the lower ages; but an inscription found in Herculaneum in these very characters has obliged them to abandon that opinion. They believed too, and with much ingenuity had almost proved, that the Greek *Accents* were of comparatively modern origin; but here again, unfortunately, the same Herculanean Inscription confuted their theories. In almost every instance, in short, where the opinions of the learned have been at variance with the usage of the *Modern Greeks*, whenever any evidence has been discovered relating to the point in controversy, the theories of the former have proved to be unfounded, and the usage of the latter confirmed.' pp. 290, 291.

On this we would observe, that with regard to the 'universality' of a pronunciation substantially the same among the modern Greeks, travellers widely differ. "At present," says the Edinburgh Review, vol. xvi. p. 58, on the authority of M. De Guys, "there are three languages in use among the Greeks. 1. The ancient or classical Greek in which divine service is performed, which is understood and spoken with facility by all the educated class. Ancient Greek is to them what Latin is to Western scholars. 2. The second is called the Ecclesiastical; so called, because it is used in the sermons and letters of the patriarchs; it is less pure than the ancient, but far less corrupt than the vulgar Greek. 3. The third and last is the vulgar or Romaic Greek—a motley assemblage of Greek, Latin, Turkish, French and Italian words." In the notes to the second canto of Childe Harold, Lord Byron speaks of the different degrees of purity with which the Greek is spoken at Yanina, in the Fanal and in Athens. "The Albanians speak a Romaic as notoriously corrupt as the Scotch in Aberdeenshire, or the Italians of Naples. Yanina (where next to the Fanal, the Greek is purest) although the capital of Ali Pacha's dominions, is not in Albania but Epirus; and beyond Delvinachi in Albania proper, up to Angyrocastro and Tepaleen (beyond which I did not advance) they speak worse Greek than even the Athenians."

With regard to the purity of the Greek used in the church service, we would remark, that though there be historical evidence of the care which has ever been taken of its pronunciation, it must yet have been liable to that change, which, for the reasons we have before stated, we believe must necessarily affect all spoken sounds. We know too from Brerewood, whom we have quoted, that it was not understood in the beginning of the 17th century by the common people. And it may not be irrelative to observe, that though the Latin of the Romish church is now not impure, yet in the 7th century, it was a jargon, which was made up of Latin words in a state of *transition* into Italian. Such as the following, "Redemptor mundi, tu lo adjuva." In the Dissertation affixed to the Classical Tour of Eustace, from which this has been derived, and who quotes from *Lanzi*, there are many other very curious specimens of the gradual corruption of the Latin from the time of the Emperors until the 13th and 14th centuries; when the Italian became a distinct language, under the culture of Dante, Boccacio, and Petrarca; and the Latin was restored to its former grammatical correctness.

Mr. Pickering gives us reason to hope, that in a future paper he will consider the subject of the Greek accents. We are as glad that this very perplexed, intricate and interminable subject is in such able hands, as that it is not our present duty to remark upon it. We hope he will be able to settle the long disputed point of the antiquity of the accents, whether they are all as old as Plato and Aristotle, as Bishop Horseley contended; or only a part of them, the spirits and marks of quantity, as others have thought;—or whether the invention of accents, distinctions, sub-distinctions, spirits and marks of quantity is to be attributed to Aristophanes of Byzantium, who flourished about the 145th Olympiad, as was the opinion of I. Vossius, Salmasius and others. If they existed in ancient times, he will, we hope, reconcile the use of their accentual marks with the metrical poetry of the ancients, and explain how the Στίχοι Πολιτικοὶ of *John Tzetzes*, and the Σύνοψις Ἱστορικὴ of *Constantine Manasses*, which are written with an uniform accentual cadence, is reconcilable with the ancient metrical quantity of the words; and finally, in what manner the Greeks of the present day, in their poetical composition, should have entirely disused the metre of their ancestors, and taken to *rhyme*.

The liberal and enlightened scholar, whose memoir has given occasion to this Article, will perceive that our remarks have not been confined to the particular arguments relating to the pronunciation of individual letters, but to those general principles and means of approximation, which have been adopted and proceeded upon equally by the Reuchlinians and Erasmians. We have incidentally spoken in the course of our remarks, of the candour, patience, accuracy, and learned research, which every where characterize his memoir;—and we wish the tribute were more worthy of his disinterested zeal in pursuit of all good learning. And while he observes that we have not the same confidence to which he has attained in the approximation which has been made, or can be made to the pronunciation of the ancient Greeks, he will not be unwilling that a view of the controversy should be taken, somewhat different from his own, as just opinions on this, and on every other subject, must result from the free inquiries of different minds.

But while we have little confidence in any approximation which can be made at the present day to the pronunciation of antiquity,—the agreement of the controvertists in the sound of many letters, affords much reason to believe that a pronunciation of the Greek may be adopted, which will be convenient for general use. The memoir of Mr. Pickering is, in this point of view, eminently valuable.* Scholars will judge whether the advantages resulting from an uniform pronunciation are worth the difficulties which must necessarily attend its adoption. Our own opinion on the question of expediency will be indicated by a quotation from the Reuchlinian Schmidt, with the single remark, that when he applied to the Erasmians of his day, may, we think, be applied with peculiar force to the Reuchlinians of ours. "Meminisse debebant illi; ut Verba; ita et Pronunciationem usu valere; non secus ac

* The subject of this article has recently excited much attention abroad.—1. In the *Journal des Savans*, for Nov. 1816, p. 192, the following work is mentioned. "Collectanea Literaria, sive Conjecturæ in Attium Diomedem, Lucilium, Lydum, Nonnium, Ovidium, Plautum, &c. quibus accedit, *Disputatio de Linguæ Græcæ Pronunciatione; auctore C. J. Reuss.*—2. Another Dissertation on the subject is to be found in *Reuven's Collectanea Literaria*, published in Holland about the year 1815.—3. In the Ἑρμῆς ὁ Λόγιος, the Greek Journal published at Vienna, there are several articles on the subject of the Reuchlinian Pronunciation; some of them are translated from German writers, (the only one now recollected is by Neidlinger) but accompanied with original remarks of the Greek editors.

Nummi valent: Et multa danda esse tempori et consuetudini. Sicut enim non necesse est, illa moneta hodie uti, qua olim majores nostri usi sunt, quæque usu hodie exolevit; imo sicut moneta antiqua hodie interdum est sine usu, et pro χειμηλίῳ potius ac monimento antiquitatis reponitur, quam pro usu erogatur: Ita etiam non necesse est, vel Verbis antiquis quæ usus abolevit, vel Pronunciatione antiqua jam abolita denuo uti velle, imo ea quæ exoleverunt, non tam sunt hodie superstitiose et ambitiose usurpanda, quam cum judicio notanda et observanda; usumque Vulgo concedere, scientiam nobis reservare debemus, ut ait Cicero. Quin potius *Moribus antiquis: præsentibus utere verbis.*

Art. VIII.—*The Elements of Chemical Science. By John Gorham, M. D. Member of the American Academy, and Professor of Chemistry in Harvard University, Cambridge. Homo naturæ minister et interpres.—Bacon. Vol. I.* pp. 556. Boston, Cummings & Hilliard, 1819.

The rapid improvements which have been made in the science of chemistry during the present century, have rendered it almost impossible for any to keep pace with it in its discoveries and revolutions, except those who have made it a particular object of attention. Never before, probably, have the exertions of so many individuals of the highest capacities and most persevering industry been at once concentrated upon a single subject; or the zeal and ardour of the philosopher been so entirely seconded by liberality and patronage. Chemistry has been the most popular science of the age. The novelty and splendour of some of its discoveries, the almost magical effect produced by some of its operations, and the readiness with which it explains so many of the ordinary phenomena of nature, have served to attract and charm minds but little disposed to relish its deeper investigations. This was particularly the case, whilst the theory of Lavoisier continued to be received in the chemical world. Its beauty and simplicity, the facility with which it was explained and understood, and its almost perfect applicability in accounting for the operations of nature, recommended it to the attention of general observers, as well as the philosophical inquirer. But the revolutions which in the course of a few years have been effected with

regard to some of its most important principles, by rendering chemistry more complicated and abstruse, have lessened very much the fascinations which it formerly possessed. It is now no easy matter—such has been the progress of discovery—to comprehend perfectly the refined speculations of the science, or the new arrangements and relations which have been pointed out in the different forms of matter, by recent investigations. A tolerable knowledge of chemistry cannot now, as it could once, be obtained by attending a few lectures, performing a few experiments, and studying some short and familiar exposition its principles. It has now assumed somewhat of a more repulsive appearance. Such indeed are the changes which have taken place, that those elementary works which were in common use, have become obsolete; or been mutilated and disjointed by the unskilful incorporation of new discoveries.

Dr. Gorham has performed a valuable service to the University with which he is connected, and to the public at large, in the task he has undertaken; and which he has so far accomplished with great accuracy, industry and ability. We have been much in want of a book of the kind he has presented to us, which should afford a general, but at the same time, accurate and scientific view of the subject, without entering into those minuter details of practice, which are dry and revolting to all but the professional student. Upon the general principles of the science, upon those points particularly, which are applicable to the phenomena of the external world, with which we are most conversant, we are presented with full and ample discussions; whilst upon those which relate chiefly to the operations of the laboratory, and the manipulations of the practical chemist, the author has taken a narrower range, and confined himself to the most essential particulars.

In systems of chemistry the synthetic method has been most frequently adopted; though it has been often doubted, whether the analytic may not be better adapted to convey a knowledge of its principles.

'In a work of this kind,'—says Dr. Gorham,—'a refined and complicated system is not necessary. The plan which has been adopted is simple, and such as appeared to the author best calculated to present to the reader in a natural order the series of connected facts. In elementary works, he believes that it is most

expedient to commence with the general principles of the science, and in illustrating the doctrines of chemistry, it is not necessary that the reader should be intimately acquainted with the bodies by which these doctrines are to be demonstrated. The subjects, therefore, in the following pages have been divided into two parts. The first part is devoted to the general laws of the science, and to the properties and modes of action of the powers or agents which are concerned in the production of chemical phenomena. In the second part are detailed the properties and relations of ponderable bodies and their compounds.' *Pref.* p. x.

The method adopted by Dr. Gorham we believe to be more unexceptionable, than that of works upon chemistry in general. Yet we conceive, that for the majority of readers, the best method of instruction would be, to follow, as nearly as possible, the course which the mind takes in investigating. The synthetical arrangement, strictly carried into effect, must, it appears to us, be completely unintelligible except to an adept in the science. It is certainly desirable in the acquisition of all learning, that we should go through the same processes of mind in studying the observations or discoveries of another, as if we had made them ourselves. We should, as far as possible, teach, or seem to teach ourselves. That which we have discovered by our own exertions is most firmly impressed upon our minds; and the same, though in a less degree, is true, if we follow the steps of the discoveries of another. By pursuing a train of investigation, we make it our own; and the impression of a fact thus acquired is far more lively and permanent, than if we retained it singly in our memory; because in the former case, it is connected with a train of associated ideas, by which it is more easily recalled into the mind, than if it stood insulated and alone. Who does not receive a clearer notion of the relations of oxygen to the metallic oxides, from an acquaintance with the precise and logical experiments of Lavoisier, than he would from a dry detail of the simple matter of fact? And although it would be impossible to enter into minute analyses and histories of experiments in an elementary work; yet the general method is possessed of similar advantages; and it is for this we contend.

There are two classes of persons who pursue the study of chemistry—and indeed the same is true of every other science —those who wish merely to acquire such a knowledge of its principles and operations, as will enable them to understand

the constitution and relations of the objects about them, and the causes of the different phenomena in the external world; —these study only the chemistry of nature;—and those who follow it professionally, who have more regard to its practical details and manipulations, than to its connexion with the operations of nature. These, if we may so speak, study principally the chemistry of the laboratory. Now there ought to be a great difference in the modes of instruction, where the objects to be attained are so different; and there is perhaps no question, that the synthetic method is best adapted for the education of the professional chemist. He should study the science before he studies nature; and become master of its artificial and technical forms, before he applies them to the elucidation of any thing out of his laboratory. He should become familiar with the effects and changes wrought by his retort and crucible, before he would penetrate into the mysterious secrets of the air, the earth, and the ocean. But the opposite method seems, as we have intimated, better fitted for the purposes of the general scholar, who seeks only knowledge enough to enable him to comprehend the chemical economy of our globe, and the nature of those forms of matter with which we are most conversant.

Every advance in discovery carries our attention further and further from those substances with which we are most familiar. The elements of the ancients have long since been decomposed; and many of the substances into which they were separated, have been again and again subjected to the same process. If then we commence at the point where discovery has terminated, it is obvious that we immediately enter upon the consideration of objects perfectly new, and which, in fact, have no real, separate existence in nature, but are only found as the elements of other matter. As the science advances, then, we have to commence at greater distances from the ultimate purpose of our research, and to go through with an investigation of substances which have, in a certain sense, only an artificial existence, before we arrive at the consideration of those which it is our particular object to understand.

We think, then, that a general knowledge of the chemical constitution of bodies, and of the relations of the elementary substances to those compound forms of matter with which we are familiar among external objects, is best communicated by that method which it has been our object to recommend. The

method proposed has also this excellence, which is of considerable importance, that it gives an immediate interest to the very commencement of the study; it awakens the curiosity and rouses the attention at once. We might be easily induced to listen to an account of the nature and composition of water, or of atmospheric air—substances with whose properties we are perfectly acquainted—when we should be completely indifferent about the history or description of oxygen, hydrogen, or azote—names, of which we had never heard. The student, at the outset, has no knowledge even of the existence of these bodies; and their properties are unlike those with which he has been usually conversant. He is obliged to obtain the subjects of his investigation by long and tedious processes; for they are seldom found in nature in a separate state; and it is only after a careful examination of their various combinations, that he understands the constitution of those substances with respect to which his curiosity is principally excited.

The fluctuating and progressive state of chemical knowledge is likewise an objection to the synthetic method of instruction. Till the science has been perfected, no arrangement can be adopted which will not be liable to constant variations, so long as new discoveries are made, and new views are taken of the ultimate composition of different species of matter. A complete and permanent arrangement upon this plan can be formed only when we know every thing within the limits to which human inquiry may extend, respecting the subjects about which it is employed. But this inconvenience, arising from the imperfection of our knowledge, is much less as it respects the opposite system. The forms of matter are always the same, although our views of their constitution may be constantly changing; and if they are taken as our guides, no changes in chemical theory can ever introduce confusion or disorder into a system founded upon this basis.

The first part of the work under consideration consists of five chapters, which treat of the general laws of the science, and of the powers concerned in the production of chemical phenomena. These powers are Attraction (including the attraction of cohesion, and chemical affinity) Caloric, Light, and Electricity, to each of which a chapter is devoted; and the fifth is occupied in a discussion of their general nature and mutual relations. We cannot pretend to give any abstract of the very valuable matter, relating to these diffi-

cult but interesting subjects. Modern researches have given us new views on most of the important points of theory with regard to them; and Dr. Gorham has collected a full and able account of the present state of our knowledge, and of the discoveries and improvements, which have made this one of the most curious and interesting departments of human science.

These changes have been principally brought about by the agency of electricity in chemical investigation; and the introduction of the Galvanic battery into the laboratory has formed an epoch in the history of the science, and given a new direction to the labours and studies of the chemist. The effects of this instrument are manifested in a variety of ways; in the production of an intense degree of heat in various bodies, violent shocks upon the human system, and a chemical decomposition of the most refractory substances; and these effects form some of the most wonderful exhibitions of the powers of matter which are afforded by human ingenuity.

When the voltaic apparatus, as it is usually denominated by chemists, is properly arranged,

'It will be found that the two extremities or poles are in opposite electrical states, the zinc always being positive and the copper always negative.'—'When the hands are well moistened and are brought into contact the one with the positive, the other with the negative pole, a shock will be experienced proportional to the number of plates; the shock from a battery of four hundred plates is exceedingly violent. If the wires be terminated by cones of dry charcoal, made from boxwood, on forming the communication, sparks will be produced, and part of the charcoal will become red hot. When pieces of this substance about an inch in length, and $\frac{1}{6}$ of an inch in diameter, were connected respectively with the positive and negative poles of the great battery of the Royal Institution, and brought very near each other, a bright spark was produced, and more than half the volume of the charcoal became ignited to whiteness, and, by withdrawing the points from each other, a constant discharge took place through the heated air, in a space equal at least to four inches, producing a most brilliant ascending arch of light, broad and conical in the middle.'

'The temperature excited in the circuit of batteries which are composed of a very large number of small plates, or of a small number of large plates, is intensely high. The power to ignite

bodies was almost equally apparent in a battery consisting of two thousand double plates, each exposing a surface of thirty two square inches, and in Mr. Children's arrangement, each triad exhibiting a surface of thirty two square feet. By the former, platina, one of the most infusible of bodies, was melted in the arch of flame as readily as wax in the flame of a common candle; quartz, the sapphire, magnesia and lime, all entered into fusion, fragments of diamond, and points of plumbago and charcoal rapidly disappeared, and seemed to evaporate. By the latter 8½ feet of platina wire 0.44 of an inch thick were heated red hot; in small quantities it became bright red, and melted at the ends; some of the most refractory oxides were reduced, and the most difficultly fusible metals melted into globules. The metals when reduced to very thin leaves do not require for their ignition or combustion that the power should be very high. Gold and silver leaf may be consumed, the one giving forth a brilliant yellow, the other a beautiful greenish white light, by connecting them with the poles of a battery composed of 100 double plates of three or four inches.

'The chemical effects of the voltaic apparatus are wonderful. Its operation is gradual, but continued; and no form of matter, if compounded, is able to resist its action. Compounds in the liquid state are decomposed with facility; but even insoluble compounds, and the hardest and most solid aggregates are finally resolved into their elements by the decomposing power of voltaic electricity.' pp. 178—180.

By the introduction of wires of gold or platinum, connected with the two poles of the battery, into a vessel of water, this fluid is immediately decomposed, and its elements extricated, the oxygen being disengaged from the zinc or positive pole, and the hydrogen from the copper or negative; and this will take place when the distance of the wires through the water amounts to three feet. If, instead of these metals, those be employed which have a strong attraction for oxygen, the hydrogen only will be liberated, the oxygen combining with the metal; and on the other hand, if some other of the metals be employed, tellurium for example, no hydrogen is evolved at the negative extremity of the battery, but oxygen only, at the positive, whilst the appearance of the metal is changed, and it is believed that a compound is formed of hydrogen with the metal, which may be called a hydruret. By a similar arrangement, many other substances may be decomposed, as ammonia, the mineral acids, the metallic and neu-

tral salts; and in all these cases the elements evolved correspond to the known composition of the substance subjected to experiment.

In the decomposition of these substances, the acid is always separated at the positive, and the alkali or metal at the negative end of the battery; and this, even under the most unfavourable circumstances for the production of such effects.

'Thus if three cups of agate or of gold be connected with the apparatus, the middle being filled with a solution of sulphate of potash, and the two others with pure water, and they be connected with each other by moistened amianthus, it will be found, after a time, that the cup positively electrified will contain sulphuric acid, and the cup negatively electrified, potash, although no traces of either of these substances could be perceived in the water previous to the experiment. If the two extreme cups be filled with an infusion of red cabbage instead of water, the portion connected with the zinc end of the battery will become red, and that united with the copper end will be changed to a green; effects which are produced respectively by acids and alkalies.

'So powerful is this apparent attraction of acids to the positive end, and of alkalies or bases to the negative pole, that in passing to the respective extremities of the battery, it was proved by Sir H. Davy, that they might be made to proceed through, without combining with, substances, which in ordinary circumstances exert strong affinities. Thus when solution of sulphate of potash was put into the cup connected with the negative end, liquid ammonia into the middle cup, and pure water in the cup in which was immersed the wire from the positive surface, on completing the circuit, and allowing the apparatus to remain in that state for some time, sulphuric acid was found in the water; when the order was inverted, the sulphate of potash being in the positive cup, acid in the middle, and water in the negative cup, the base of the salt, or potash, was discovered in the water. In the first instance, therefore, acid matter was transmitted through ammonia, and in the second, alkaline matter or potash passed through an acid, without chemical union, notwithstanding the particles had freedom of motion, and are known to possess strong mutual affinities. By the same arrangements, acids and alkalies may be made to pass through coloured vegetable infusions without producing their characteristic effects.' pp. 185, 186.

The results obtained by means of the voltaic apparatus, and the great influence which this form of electricity was

thus found to possess, in modifying and even neutralizing chemical affinities, suggested to Sir Humphry Davy the idea of attempting, by the same means, the decomposition of the fixed alkalies; and the consequence was one of the greatest discoveries of modern science. These substances had been supposed to be compounds; but there had been no well grounded opinion formed with respect to the nature of their ultimate composition. By subjecting them, however, to the influence of a powerful battery, oxygen was given off at the positive pole, and at the negative were observed small globules of a metallic lustre, resembling mercury, which combined rapidly with oxygen, if exposed to it in any of its forms, and reproduced the pure alkali. By employing substances, into whose composition oxygen did not enter, to receive and contain the results of his experiments, this great chemist was enabled to obtain for observation quantities of the new metal; which was thus proved to be the base of the alkalies; and potash and soda to be consequently of the class of oxides. This discovery was easily extended; and partly by actual experiment, and partly by analogical reasoning, it has been concluded, that the alkaline and other earths are similarly constituted; that they are all oxides, resembling in composition those bodies acknowledged to be such, and having the same chemical relations and powers. Their bases have accordingly been ranked in the class of metals, with names, such as potassium, barium, &c. derived from those of their oxides, and corresponding in etymological structure to those of the other metals.

Much of the history of voltaic electricity, as applied to the operations of chemistry, and indeed many other of the investigations of modern chemists, have thrown considerable doubt on the prevalent opinions, respecting the nature and agencies of the powers by which the operations of nature are carried on. The causes of what we call the effects of caloric, of light and electricity are generally believed to be fluids, unconfinable and imponderable, tending to diffuse themselves through space, capable of being transmitted from one substance to another, and of being accumulated in some bodies, and diminished in others, according to their several capacities, or the influence of a variety of circumstances. The theoretical speculations of philosophers have commonly proceeded upon this assumption; and it has not been long, that different opinions have attain-

ed any considerable currency. Such a belief is, however, at variance with many well known facts, and has been relinquished by some of the most distinguished chemists. It is not a great while, since the mechanical phenomena of the universe were explained upon a similar hypothesis; and gravity like heat was supposed to be an all pervading fluid. Even within a few years, a similar doctrine has been hinted at with regard to magnetism; and it is obvious, that explanations might be given of chemical attraction or affinity upon the same principle. But such hypotheses are now relinquished as chimerical. Gravity and affinity are believed to be the result of certain properties or powers of matter, by which it is enabled to maintain certain relations, and the phenomena of magnetism, notwithstanding the exception to which we have just alluded, are now generally accounted for upon a similar principle. But the old method of explanation, has, for no satisfactory reason that we can perceive, been retained with respect to heat, light and electricity;—and their operations have been supposed to be performed by the interference of a specific sort of matter.

Yet where is the necessity of this interference of subtile and imponderable fluids? Does it in fact explain the phenomena in question any better than they can be explained without it? And if not, is it not unphilosophical, gratuitously to suppose their existence? There has always been in the early stages of science, a great deal of this sort of philosophizing, which removes the difficulty it cannot solve one step further off. How are the questions to be answered, when we come to inquire, by what agents the revolutions of these subtile and imponderable fluids are effected, and by what causes they are made to perform the various offices assigned to them? The fact is, nothing is gained by these assumptions; one after another may be made without end. There have been some speculations with regard to electricity, which have introduced no less than two or three different modifications of each of the two opposite fluids, upon which its phenomena were imagined to depend. As science becomes more refined and genuine, such doctrines are rejected; and we have no doubt, when the laws of chemistry are so well understood as those of other branches of physical science, that its speculations will be as little encumbered by the relicks of former hypotheses.

It may, perhaps, be thought that we consider the subject too curiously; but we really conceive that analogies sufficiently close exist between these different powers, to make it worth inquiry whether they are not all to be explained upon similar principles. To take caloric for example, do not its laws and those of gravitation resemble one another in many striking particulars? All the mechanical motions of the universe, we take it for granted, depend upon the power of gravitation, acting under different modifications and in different directions. The momentum acquired by a falling body is an accumulation of this power—as it may acquire an accumulation of caloric by percussion, friction, &c.—and it will produce motion in another substance, or raise the opposite scale of the balance, in the former case; as in the latter it will raise the mercury in the themometer. The accumulated power of motion, like caloric, is also communicable, and tends to an equilibrium. If a body fall against the earth or some other fixed substance which is unelastic, its motion is destroyed; as a heated body is quenched at once in a large quantity of water. But if on the other hand it impinge against a small moveable body, its power is partly transferred, and both bodies move on with a force exactly proportional to their size and quantity of matter. How nearly does this resemble the laws of the distribution of heat. If, however, the substance against which another falls be elastic, the moving body rebounds. The direction of the power on which its motion depends *appears to be* changed or reflected, for the body itself is reflected from the elastic, precisely as light or heat is from a polished surface. We may find also without difficulty an arrangement by which we may produce an effect upon the gravitating power of matter, similar to that by which the light and heat of a large surface are concentrated in a single point. If we suppose a cone made to rest upon its apex, its whole weight is collected at that point. Now, in this case, the gravitating power of every particle out of the axis of the cone, is made to operate in a different direction from that in which it naturally would—i. e. towards the centre of the earth—and to assume a tendency towards the apex of the cone, as parallel rays of light or heat are collected in one point by the intervention of a lens, or the reflection of a mirror.

The analogy between the laws of these powers of matter appears to us at least sufficient to render it probable that their nature is similar, and that if the phenomena of the one can be consistently explained without the intervention of any separate and specific material principle, those of the other may be also. But although we readily admit the probable immateriality of caloric, yet we cannot subscribe to the detailed explanation of this doctrine which has been advanced by Sir H. Davy.

'It is assumed,' says Dr. Gorham in his account of this theory, 'that in solids the phenomenon of heat results from a vibratory or undulatory motion of their particles, the temperature varying with the spaces between them, and the intensity of the vibrations; that in liquids and gravitating elastic fluids, the vibration is accompanied with a motion of the particles around their own axis, those of gaseous matter being performed with the greatest velocity; and that in etherial fluids or radiant matter, the particles move around their own axes, and separate from each other, penetrating in right lines into space. Temperature may be conceived to depend upon the velocity of the vibrations; increase of capacity upon the motions being performed in greater space; and the diminution of temperature during the conversion of solids into liquids or gases upon the idea of the loss of vibratory motion, in consequence of the revolutions of the particles upon their own axes, at the moment when the body becomes liquid, or aëriform, or from the lessened rapidity of vibration, from the motions being performed in a greater space.' p. 216.

Now all this is purely hypothetical; it could not from the nature of the subject be otherwise; and it is besides somewhat obscure. We are not called upon to enter so deeply into the hidden processes of nature. If we can render it probable, that the supposition of the existence of a peculiar species of matter is without foundation, we are not therefore obliged to show how things can be managed without it. The burden of proof lies upon the opposite side. The production of high temperatures by percussion and friction, and also by chemical combinations and decompositions, in which there is no condensation, affords a principal argument against the material nature of heat. Yet this has no bearing upon the opinions of Sir Humphry Davy; but is simply of a negative character, tending merely to show that the received doctrines do not explain all the phenomena in question.

In considering the nature of caloric, we ought to throw out of view the relation it bears to our own sensations, which has in fact nothing to do with the question. These are immediately excited by a change in the state or actions of the extreme vessels, and not by any matter communicated from the heated body. The same sensations may be produced by substances of a temperature lower than that of the body, which have the power of exciting a similar action or change in these vessels. We refer to the operation of caustics.

Putting aside then the power of heated bodies upon our feelings, what other powers do they possess, by which they are distinguished from substances at the ordinary temperature of the atmosphere? The effect of a high degree of heat seems to be an increase of chemical energy, and an altered state of chemical affinity. If a piece of metal be heated to a certain degree, its tendency to combine with oxygen is augmented, and if it be exposed to the influence of the air it becomes an oxide. Here is a certain change produced in the chemical affinity of this substance; but at another degree of the thermometer, the same oxide which was thus formed becomes decomposed, and the metal is restored. Here is another change in its chemical affinity. We perceive changes in chemical affinity, and we perceive nothing more. Expose the same metal, at any temperature, however low, with which we are acquainted, to the action of nitric acid, and similar changes will take place. But in the last mentioned experiment, heat will be generated. The power, then, which produces the sensation of heat, may be considered merely as the result of the chemical state of certain bodies, of the action of their affinities, and not as a separate substance, the cause of that state and of the action of these affinities. Thus an electrical discharge, which is in itself possessed of no temperature, is capable of setting fire to an inflammable body;—that is to say, electricity, a powerful chemical agent, becomes the cause of a series of processes carried on in the combustible substance, in consequence of which, heat is generated. It is obvious, that upon the principles just stated, the sensible effects which take place in the common cases of combustion, are to be explained, not by the supposition of the extrication of caloric, a separate substance, but as produced, without any such intervention, by the chemical operations which are going forward.

The phenomena of light are certainly better explained upon the theory of radiant particles issuing from the luminous body, than those of caloric are, upon the material hypothesis. But we have no evidence of the existence and nature of light except by its immediate effects upon our senses. Light is only a power in external objects of affecting our organs, so as to produce certain sensations; and the same sensations may be produced in circumstances where there can be no possibility of the presence of radiant light; as in passing the shock of a Galvanic battery through the head, a flash is distinctly perceived. But whatever doubts there may be with regard to the existence of light, as a separate substance, yet it must be confessed, that the subject is too little understood, to enable us to form any consistent and satisfactory hypothesis.

There seems till of late to have been little or no doubt among philosophers, that the phenomena of electricity were caused by the operation of a peculiar fluid or fluids, which pervaded all matter; and the respective theories of Dufay and Dr. Franklin, founded upon their several assumptions, have, one or the other, been received by all men of science. The principles of these theories are sufficiently familiar to most of us.

'But an hypothesis differing essentially from them has been stated by Sir Humphry Davy. Electricity is conceived by this distinguished chemist to result from the general powers or agencies of matter, and its phenomena to be displayed in the attractions and repulsions between different bodies or their particles. In these cases they assume a polar arrangement, and the opposite extremities are dissimilarly electrified, the positive pole of one being opposed to the negative pole of the other. The effect is proportional to the violence with which the electrically attractive and repellent powers are exerted, and may be connected with the motions of the particles of the substances affected. The difference in what has been called the conducting powers of bodies, seems to depend entirely upon the different manner in which they receive the electrical polarities, or in which their parts become capable of communicating attractive or repellent powers to other matter. When an excited body is brought into the neighbourhood of an insulated conductor, the air being interposed, the nearest point of the conductor becomes dissimilarly electrified, the remote extremity similarly electrified, and the mind is in a neutral state. The conductor here acquires polarity with ease, and exhibits but two poles, and this polarity is *induced* by the proximity of the electri-

fied body. The polarities of the two bodies may continue to be exalted, until they are annihilated through the air, producing what is commonly called an electrical discharge. The phenomena of sparks, discharges, and accumulated electricity, depend upon this law. The particles of different bodies are also inferred to possess inherent, electrical energies, and it is considered as not improbable, that the same arrangements of matter, or the same attractive powers which place bodies in the relations of positive and negative, i. e which render them attractive of each other electrically, and capable of communicating attractive powers to other matter, may likewise render their particles attractive, and enable them to combine when they have full freedom of motion. Hence electrical and chemical phenomena may depend upon the same power; in the former case acting upon masses, and in the latter upon the particles of matter.' p. 224, 225.

These principles, in general, appear to us to afford the best explanation of the phenomena of electricity; though the theory just stated is tinctured in a considerable degree by that fondness for minute and intricate specifications respecting the operations of nature, which is characteristic of the speculations of its celebrated author. There are many facts which tend to confirm the latter part of the passage just quoted, and to show the near connexion which exists between electricity and chemical affinity.

'Most of the substances, which act distinctly upon each other electrically, are such as act chemically when their particles have freedom of motion; this is the case with sulphur and the metals, with acid and alkaline substances; and the relations of bodies are uniform; those which have the highest attractive powers being in the relation of positive in arrangements in which chemical changes can go on.' p. 203.

'The connexion existing between electrical phenomena and chemical changes, is likewise evident in the general phenomena of the voltaic battery. The most powerful combinations are formed by substances that act chemically with most energy upon each other; and such substances as undergo no chemical change in the combination, exhibit no electrical powers.' p. 204.

These circumstances, and a variety of others which might be brought forward, lead almost inevitably to the conclusion, that electricity and chemical affinity are identical; that the phenomena attributed to them are the results of the same principle acting for different purposes and in different rela-

tions; and when viewed in connexion with other facts, afford likewise much ground for the belief, that heat, light and magnetism are also different exhibitions of the same cause, acting under various modifications, and producing different results according to the nature of the substance which is operated on.

'An intimate connexion appears to subsist between electricity, light and caloric. As bodies require to be raised only to a certain temperature to become luminous, so it is only necessary that the electrical excitation should be increased to a certain point to render them radiant. The effect of lightning in setting fire to combustibles is well known. The electricity excited by friction will inflame combustible liquids, gun-powder, and the metallic exploding compounds. Transmitted in large quantities through the perfect conductors, it melts and dissipates them in globules. The temperature produced in the circuit of the batteries of Mr. Children and of the Royal Institution of London, was probably equal or nearly so to that of the flame of the oxy-hydrogen blowpipe, which is the highest that can be effected by art. Electricity even of low intensity is accompanied with light. The spark is familiar, and the star which is sometimes observed stationary upon the point of a conductor is brilliant and well defined. A variety of bodies, when electrically excited, become phosphorent, and non-conductors subjected to friction are rendered luminous. The colour of the light is not always the same; it varies according to the intensity of the excitation, the distance to which it is to be transmitted, and the nature of the medium which opposes the action. In low degrees of excitation, the colour is red; in proportion as they are exalted, it becomes purplish, and when intense, white with a shade of violet.' p. 232, 233.

Wherever the electrical agency is supposed to operate with the greatest force, there light and heat are proportionally developed, as in the experiments related p. 179 of the work under review, of which we have given an account. Galvanism, as we have previously remarked, is capable of producing the sensation of a flash of light when the eyes are entirely closed; and the dry points of the wires connected with the extremities of the battery produce a feeling of heat in the skin, although their temperature is not raised. These powers of generating, as it would seem, light and caloric, by means of the electrical apparatus, lead to additional doubts of their material nature—for if material, whence is the immense and long continued

supply derived in some of the operations of the galvanic battery? Or at least they imply, in all their phenomena, the operation of only common ultimate principles. For if it be argued in defence of the old hypothesis that the heat &c. thus developed, is caloric, set free by the chemical operations going on in the troughs of the battery, and which are probably necessary to its electrical powers—still, how is this caloric conveyed along the wires of the battery without raising their temperature, and brought into operation only, when their extremities are made to communicate?

As electricity produces heat, so too the variations of heat produce electricity. It is developed by changes of temperature and of form; by the cooling, for instance, of melted sulphur, by the production and condensation of vapour, and by heating certain mineral substances, which in their ordinary state exhibit no signs of electricity.

The light, which is a consequence of electrical operations, obeys the same laws as that of the sun, and is separable into the same elements by the prism. There is also a farther resemblance between the chemical powers of the different kinds of rays, into which the solar spectrum has been divided, and those of electricity. 'The rays at the red end, in their chemical powers, tend to burn bodies or combine them with oxygen; those at the opposite end tend to restore inflammability to bodies; and negative electricity, which exercises the same function, produces hydrogen gas from water, and the inflammable bases from their combinations.' In addition to all this, the influence which both light and electricity have in the production of magnetic power, points out another relation between them, and of both to that inscrutable principle on which the phenomena of magnetism depend. There is no doubt that they are both capable of communicating to iron, under certain circumstances, the polarity of the magnet.

Now what is the conclusion which most naturally follows from all these facts? Is it not this—that the phenomena of affinity, caloric, light, electricity and magnetism are all equally the consequences of certain laws of matter, by which the intimate constitution of substances is maintained, and their chemical revolutions effected; which operate in these different ways and produce such various results, according to the circumstances of the operation, the nature of the bodies

operated upon, and the nature of the substances which are the recipients of the effects? Thus if the stream of galvanic power be made to pass through a wire of platina, intense heat is produced; if through a quantity of water, a solution of a neutral salt, or some other compound substance, the result is a chemical decomposition; if the subject be a thin metallic leaf, an opposite effect is produced, and the metal combines with oxygen. In some substances, friction is capable of producing an intense degree of heat; in others an excitation of electricity. These are a few exemplifications of this principle, but many others have occurred in the course of our remarks.

The second part of this work relates to the properties and relations of ponderable bodies, &c. They are divided by Dr. Gorham into the organized and unorganized, the former including those substances which are, or have been, parts of some living system; the latter, the inert mass of common matter. The same elements, however, enter into the composition of both, although they are combined by different laws, and for different purposes. The elementary substances described amount to fifty two, but the existence of a few of these is somewhat hypothetical; and the number is continually varying with the progress of discovery; since it is one of the first principles of the science, that every substance is to be regarded as simple till proved to be a compound.

The elementary substances are arranged by Dr. Gorham under three classes; 1. Supporters of Combustion containing four, 2d. Inflammable or acidifiable unmetallic bases containing seven, and 3d. Metals containing forty one individual species. The two first classes only are described in the present volume. Under the sections relating to the several elements, are included accounts of the principal combinations which they form with each other.

Lavoisier founded his system of chemistry principally upon the relations, which oxygen was supposed to bear to the other elementary bodies; the influence it exerted in combustion; and upon the properties of those substances of which it formed a component part. It was believed to be the only supporter of combustion, and the principle on which the acids, whose composition was then known, depended for their peculiar properties. At the time this theory was promulgated, it was almost without exception applicable to the

phenomena to which it is related; and modern discovery has not so much tended to prove that its doctrines are false, as to narrow the limits within which they are to be applied. It has in the first place brought to light other supporters of combustion besides oxygen; or to speak more accurately, other elementary substances analogous to oxygen in most of their properties. In fact, neither of the substances included in this class is absolutely necessary to combustion; for, according to modern views, its phenomena are merely the consequence of intense energy of combination. If substances with strong chemical affinities combine, there is often an evolution of heat and light, whether any of the supporters be present or not. Some of the inflammable bodies themselves in their turn become fully as much supporters of combustion, as chlorine or iodine. There is a gas lately discovered called cyanogen, the basis of the celebrated prussic acid, composed of 46.78 carbon and 53.22 azote, which is capable both of being inflamed itself, and of supporting cumbustion in other substances. When kindled, it burns with a bluish flame, producing azote and carbonic acid; but if potassium be introduced into it, and heated, the metal takes fire and burns also with flame. The case is similar with respect to sulphuretted hydrogen. Though inflammable itself, it supports combustion in potassium, which will take fire in it and burn with great brilliancy. Unless the definition of combustion be confined within the limits of Lavoisier, there are no particular elements that we can distinctly class together as supporters of that process. Still there are sufficient analogies between the substances thus classed together in the present work, to authorize their arrangement in the same division; although there may be some doubt about giving them the distinctive title of supporters of combustion.

The views of the old theory respecting the constitution of the acids, were still more partial. It is generally believed by modern philosophers, that hydrogen, as well as oxygen, is capable of acting as an acidifying principle, when combined with a base; and that all those substances called supporters of combustion, form acids in union with hydrogen, except oxygen, and thus act both as bases and acidifying principles under different circumstances. Yet we cannot perceive why it should be concluded, when an acid is produced by the combination of hydrogen with chlorine or iodine, that the former

should be looked upon as the principle of acidification instead of the latter. We do not recollect any acid of very marked properties, in which the acidifying principle may not be supposed to be one of the supporters of combustion, with as much reason as hydrogen. But it does not seem to be necessary to conclude that acidification is dependent upon any particular principle, any more than combustion. It may be merely the consequence of a particular mode of union, and of some hidden analogies of constitution, which have hitherto eluded investigation.

A new modification of the theory of acidification has been lately advanced, which owes its origin to Dr. Coxe of Philadelphia, was adopted to a certain degree by Davy, and has been finally matured and presented to the world by Dr. Murray. Water has always appeared essential to the constitution of the stronger acids, and they have never been obtained in what was to be considered a dry state. But it may be, that the elements of the water do not enter into the composition of the acid as water, but as oxygen and hydrogen; and the reason why dry acid cannot be obtained is, that no such thing can exist; and all the water has been separated, which is separable without the decomposition of the acid.

'It is conceived by Dr. Murray that from the united action of the elements, viz. oxygen and hydrogen, a higher degree of acidity is acquired, than from the influence of either of them alone; and sulphur is quoted as affording a striking example. With hydrogen it forms a weak acid (*sulphuretted hydrogen*). With oxygen it also forms an acid, (*sulphurous acid,*) which though of superior energy, still does not display much power. With hydrogen and oxygen, it seems to receive the acidifying influence of both, and its acid (*sulphuric acid*) is proportionally exalted.' p. 525.

Similar views may be taken of the compounds of nitrogen and of carbon; and there seem to be strong grounds for the opinions which Dr. Murray advances. He has extended the same theory to the subject of the alkalies.

'As hydrogen in some cases gives rise to acidity, so it may in other cases occasion alkalinity. Under this point of view ammonia, in which oxygen cannot be detected, is a compound of which nitrogen is the base, deriving its alkaline power from hydrogen; it stands therefore in the same relation to the other alkalies, that

sulphuretted hydrogen does to the acids. The fixed alkalies, potash and soda, are considered as hydrates, that is to say, as bases united chemically with a certain proportion of water, but it is obvious, says Dr. Murray, that the elements of the water may exist in combination with the base; that potash, for example, is not a compound of oxide of potassium with water, but of potassium, oxygen and hydrogen.' p. 531, 532.

As a consequence of these views, the constitution of the neutral salts must be different from what is commonly supposed.

'Neutralization is not the saturation of acid with alkali, and the subversion of the properties of one by the opposed action of those of the other; but is the change of composition of both, and the quiescence of the elements in that proportion in which their affinities are in a state of equilibrium without any excess.'

'All these results display more fully the extensive relations of the two elements, oxygen and hydrogen. They do not act merely in opposition, as has been imagined, but more frequently in union, producing similar effects. Hydrogen is of nearly equal importance with oxygen, and the principal details of chemistry consist in their modified action on inflammable, and metallic bodies.' p. 533.

In examining a system of chemistry of recent date, we cannot but be astonished at the accumulation of facts which has been made within the present century. Indeed, that part of the volume before us which relates to the details of the science, seems almost wholly occupied in the narration of new discoveries. As has been before observed, three substances are now classed with oxygen as supporters of combustion—chlorine, formerly the oxymuriatic acid; iodine, an entirely new substance strongly resembling chlorine; and fluorine, the supposed base of the fluoric acid, and bearing the same relation to it that chlorine does to the muriatic. To the class of simple inflammable bases, not metallic, two new substances have been added, boron and silicon. The former combined with oxygen forms the boracic acid, whose composition was unknown in the days of Lavoisier; the latter is the base of silex, and is found to resemble more nearly this class of elements, than the earths with which it was formerly arranged. The alkalies and earths have been decomposed and proved to be metallic oxides; and a new alkali and a new earth have been added to the number of those formerly known to exist.

To enter into any account of the various compounds which have been brought to light, and can be formed from these various elements, would be at once useless and uninteresting. Yet it is worth while to state that out of about forty, described in the present volume, at least one half are of very recent discovery, and of these the greater proportion are artificial or invented—if we may use the expression—that is, not existing in nature, but put together by the ingenuity or good fortune of the chemist.

Yet, notwithstanding all the brilliant discoveries, and the important truths which have graced the progress of modern chemistry, it is difficult to avoid regretting the overthrow of so simple and beautiful a system as that of Lavoisier. It is impossible for those of us, who have formed our ideas of the chemical operations of nature on the principles which he taught, to turn with complacency from a theory like his to a state of science so unsettled and so obscure, as modern chemistry now is. That the progress of discovery has most unquestionably overthrown the foundations of the old theory, we cannot doubt; yet it has substituted nothing in its room; and the science consists now in an immense mass of facts without any regular and consistent connexion. This, from the nature of the thing, is inevitable; and our chemists must leave to their successors the task of arrangement and generalization. They have torn down but have not built up. They have overthrown the works of Lavoisier, and yet there seems to be scarcely any thing certain in speculative chemistry, except what remains of his theory. And after all, he who desires only to understand the chemical constitution and operations of nature, will find them better explained and more easily understood upon the principles of the old school. Not that we would undervalue the alterations and discoveries of our own times; they are a natural consequence of the advanced state of the science, and lead to its ultimate perfection. Yet they have made it less captivating to the general scholar; they have lessened the interest with which it is viewed by those not immediately engaged in its pursuits, by rendering it more complicated and more difficult to be understood, and less applicable as a whole to the explication of those phenomena of the natural world with which we are most familiar.

Chemistry has hardly received, in our own country, that

attention which its real importance, and intimate connexion with our national prospects and improvement, would seem to demand. The contributions which this science has made to the arts, the improvements it has suggested in many important manufactures, and above all the security it has given to the lives of thousands by means of the celebrated safety-lamp of Sir H. Davy, prove how much an enlightened and well directed philosophy may do to improve the condition of mankind. This consideration gives it a high claim to the attention of a nation like ours, and yet we have but few men among us, who have made it their profession to understand and teach it; and it is only to such that we can look for any important accessions of knowledge. Chemistry has become in Europe almost a separate profession; and we consider it as a most desirable event to have men of abilities and enterprize, devoted to it from inclination, who are at leisure to give themselves up wholly to its pursuit; and who are not obliged to labour in other occupations for a support, whilst the cultivation of their favourite study is only their relaxation and amusement. When we have such men among us, then and not till then shall we be able to contribute our full share to the science of the world; and to turn to the best account the various means which chemistry affords for the improvement of our own condition.

The length to which we have extended this article, as well as the particular remarks which we have had occasion to make on the character of the work under review, are sufficient proofs that we estimate it highly. We regard it, as far as it has yet been published, as one of the best introductions to the science with which we are acquainted. We look forward with interest to the publication of the second volume.

Art. IX.—*Travels in Canada and the United States in* 1816 *and* 1817. *By Lieut. Francis Hall.* 8vo. pp. 332. Boston, Wells & Lilly, 1818.

The writer of this volume is an English officer, who appears to possess an open, candid disposition, with some pretensions to taste and literature. He has good sense enough to think, that a country is not to be judged by its

tavern-keepers and ostlers, and too much good humour to rail at a whole people, because he meets with occasional instances of fraud or churlishness. Free from the squeamishness, that can allow nothing to be good, where the traveller is not delicately fed and softly lodged, he submits cheerfully to inconveniences, which he knows to be the price that all must pay, who would see nature in her rude, uncultivated state. *Log-roads* and dull horses excite his merriment rather than his spleen, and he goes laughing and jolting on, amply compensated by occasional views of mountains and cataracts for all his petty sufferings. His spirits are light and buoyant, and not easily subdued by trifling ills. He is never querulous or discontented; never disposed to go in quest of faults, nor to dwell long on such as come in his way. He takes no delight in upbraiding. Instead of peevishly staying to enumerate the wants, which he cannot supply, he hastens to forget them in the occupations, which curiosity or fancy may suggest. It is true, that he sometimes relates occurrences, which seem too minute for the dignity of narration. We have not forgotten, that Johnson has said, 'that the true state of every nation is the state of common life.' and that 'they whose aggregate constitutes the people, are found in the streets and the villages, in the shops and farms.'—But let the authority and example of Johnson be carried as far as it may; it never can extend to justify the insertion of such facts, as have no tendency to mark the character of a people, or to shew the degree of refinement they have attained. Later travellers, not possessing the sagacity which enabled that great man to turn the most common incidents to account, have thought themselves imitating him, when they have filled their pages with the peculiarities of individuals, and such casual events, as have nothing to do with the general state and habits of a people. What is the reader profited, we would ask, by being told, 'that the woodcocks were profanely gutted and tossed ignobly to be stewed in a common pot with the other birds,' or that, although thus 'barbarously degraded' still 'their excellence could not be extinguished?' Of what importance is it to be informed, 'that Mrs. Tisley's is a clean, comfortable house, and that Mr. Powell is a very civil landlord?' Before the reader shall chance to travel the same road, it is great odds that these kind entertainers will have given place to others, or that if

they survive, the intimation will be either not remembered or not regarded. There ought to be a difference between a book of travels, and a travelling directory. Let not the former be made a chronicle for tavern-keepers, who may safely enough trust to their sign-boards, and their fame in the neighbourhood, which probably led the author and will lead others, to these resting places.

Lieut. Hall discovers a laudable wish to make himself acquainted with every thing worthy of note concerning the country through which he passes, its inhabitants, manners, institutions, religion and laws. That in a rapid journey he should not acquire a very deep insight into these matters, and that he should fall into many mistakes, is not strange. But he makes no great pretensions to profound knowledge, or extensive observation. He gives us his impressions, and we know how he received them. We have always the means of making due allowance for the scantiness or inaccuracy of his information, and he more than once hints at the difficulties he had to encounter. There is besides a liveliness in some of his descriptions, and a familiar epistolary way of writing, that lets us at once into all about him, so that we see and feel what he saw and felt. Not that his style is altogether free from affectation. There are occasions enough for lamenting the rejection of plain prose for a laboured poetic diction, and many thoughts are distorted by their gorgeous apparel, that would have done very well in an every-day dress. When he would let us know that a fish was caught, he tells us that 'lines were thrown out, and the silver mail of one victim soon glistened, as he ascended through the green wave.' But this, we must allow, is about the worst instance we have been able to find, and when we consider how fashionable it has been of late to disguise meaning with redundant epithets, and puzzle the reader with riddles, we do not so much wonder, that a young and ardent writer, somewhat addicted to poetry, should have fallen into this error, as that his offences of this kind are so few. The moral and political remarks contained in this volume, which are not unfrequent, are in general such as indicate a sound mind and benevolent heart. They are ingenious enough not to appear idle or misplaced, without being remarkable either for novelty or depth. We find ourselves every where in company with a lively, good humoured man, whose conversation is so instruc-

tive as never to be trifling, and so entertaining, that we are not wearied with hearing him talk.—If we met such an one while journeying, we should regret our arrival at a parting point, and might even go a little out of our way to keep him company. He is an affable, communicative, well-bred sort of man, who pleases because he is pleased, and because he possesses good sense joined to a sufficient stock of erudition, without ostentation or pedantry; and because he thinks justly, and tells us what he thinks, without assuming the air of a teacher, or claiming for his thoughts more respect than we commonly pay to those of men, who have had the same opportunities with ourselves to observe and learn.

We first find our traveller upon the ocean, which he crosses from Liverpool to New York, without any uncommon incident. The dangers of Nantucket shoals are mentioned by way of apology for introducing in a brief episode a very general and inaccurate account of the inhabitants of that island. Whence he obtained his information concerning them we are not told, but it could not have been from a very correct source, since he mentions it among their customs, that 'they have, particularly the women, an odd habit of taking a small quantity of opium every morning,'—and adds in a note, that he has since heard it remarked,—'that this practice is very general in America.'

After a stay of four days at New York, which enables him just to glance at the several objects of attention there, he sets off in the steam-boat for Albany. Whatever impressions he might have had of the savageness of the people, through whose country he was to pass, they were soon happily removed; for he tells us, that he was 'agreeably surprized by a dinner handsomely served, very good attendance, and a general attention to quiet and decorum,' and he adds, 'truly, thought I, these republicans are not so barbarous.' The monument of Hamilton calls forth a remark, which we were pleased to see from the pen of a military man.—'He crossed,' says Lieut. Hall, 'from the state of New York to evade the laws of his country, and bow to those of false shame and mistaken honour.' A few pages are sufficient for describing all that he saw at Albany. After visiting Coos falls, he pursues the usual route by Whitehall and Lake Champlain to Canada, and on quitting our territory, pauses for a moment to enter upon what he very properly confesses to be 'a bold enterprize,' that is, 'to des-

cribe the habits, manners, and dispositions of a nation, after a fifteen days' journey through it.' But he prudently confines himself to an extract or two from the facetious pages of Knickerbocker, and some general remarks upon the behaviour of shop-keepers and innholders. He resumes this topic in an appendix without much better success, for he can find no more authentic source of information concerning the character of the New Englanders, than the professed caricatures contained in 'Letters from Virginia,' and some remarks from the Olive Branch, to which last work, we suppose, he is indebted for some defamatory and unfounded imputations upon the New England clergy.

He now enters Lower Canada, and thus describes the first objects that met his view there.

'Nothing could be more Siberian than the aspect of the Canadian frontier: a narrow road, choked with snow, led through a wood, in which patches were occasionally cleared, on either side, to admit the construction of a few log-huts, round which a brood of ragged children, a starved pig, and a few half-broken rustic implements, formed an accompaniment more suited to an Irish landscape, than to the thriving scenes we had just quitted. The Canadian peasant is still the same unsophisticated animal whom we may suppose to have been imported by Jacques Cartier. The sharp, unchangeable lineaments of the French countenance, set off with a blue or red night-cap, over which is drawn the hood of a grey capote, fashioned like a monk's cowl, a red worsted girdle, hair tied in a greasy leathern queue, brown moccasins of undressed hide, and a short pipe in his mouth, give undeniably testimony of the presence of Jean Baptiste. His horse seems to have been equally solicitous to shame neither his progenitors nor his owner, by any mixture with a foreign race, but exhibits the same relationship to the horses, as his rider to the subjects of Louis XIII. Now, too, the frequent cross by the road side, thick studded with all the implements of crucifixional torture, begins to indicate a catholic country: distorted virgins and ghastly saints decorate each inn room, while the light spires of the parish church, covered with plates of tin, glitter across the snowy plain.' pp. 42, 43.

He makes all haste to Quebec, where in truth his travels may be said to begin; for it is there he begins to give a minute and careful account of the most important subjects of observation, whether in the natural or moral world. He describes Quebec and its environs, and then returning up the

St. Lawrence, points out in succession the towns, mountains, streams, islands and rapids between that place and Montreal. In the same way, after a short account of Montreal, he continues his course towards Upper Canada, and from Kingston, crossing over to Sacket's Harbour, he takes a turn through the western counties of New York, describing cursorily the villages and people of that growing country. Next he explores the Niagara frontier, dwells on its peculiar beauties and advantages, and attempts to explain the causes of its superior mildness of climate. Crossing the Niagara at Black Rock, he again enters the territory of the United States, and directs his course to Philadelphia. Here he is detained some time in describing the institutions and public buildings, and thence proceeds to Baltimore and Washington, passes a night with Mr. Jefferson at Monticello; stays a short time at Richmond, and by rapid stages reaches Charleston. There he embarks, and soon 'welcomes the hills of his country' from which he had departed a little more than a year before.

This is the route in which our traveller is to find materials for a book. It has been often travelled before, and of course we are not to expect that peculiar charm, which belongs to the narratives of those, who are the first to explore an unknown country. It has neither the freshness of novelty, nor the soberness of antiquity; no monuments of art to carry us back to distant ages; no consecrated spots to revive the memory of great and glorious events, over which time has cast its mists. The people are either much like those, for whom the author writes, or by frequent intercourse, and the accounts of other travellers, have become well known to them. With these disadvantages, we are disposed to allow no little credit to Lieut. Hall for having made his book so entertaining as it is. It can rarely be said to be tedious, even when it is not instructive. Among all the writers of travels, there are few who possess a quick perception of those nice shades, that distinguish the character of a people; and still fewer, who can select with judgment, and display with vivacity and force, those traits, by which that character may be distinctly conceived by others. Most of those, who have attempted this, have become either dull or frivolous. They have either disgusted the reader by an affectation of facetiousness, or they have made him toil through dissertations more wearisome than the swamps and marshes, through which they have

themselves passed. Lieut. Hall has certainly avoided these extremes, and we think has sometimes succeeded in that sort of moral painting, which gives life and soul to the otherwise fatiguing details of roads and hills and streams.

In the Province of Lower Canada nothing is more deserving of attention, than the character of its French peasantry. Of 335,000 inhabitants, we are told by Bouchette that 275,000 are descendants of the original French settlers. The wise policy of the British Government has permitted these men to continue unmolested the exercise of their religion, and has been sparing in changes of the laws and constitutions, which were found in force there at the conquest. In their courts of justice, Denizart, Pigeau, and Pothier are the books most often quoted, and the most familiar terms of jurisprudence are those of the French Law.—'A recourse to the common law of Canada' (says C. J. Sewell in the case of Pozer *vs.* Meiklejohn, Pike's Canad. Rep. vol. i. p. 12) 'is the ordinary rule; to the laws of England, an exception created by statute for those cases, in which proof is to be made of facts concerning commercial matters;'—and again (p. 13) 'the system of jurisprudence which we administer, has for its basis the law of France, and particularly that portion of the law of France, which was observed as law in the vicomté of Paris, before the establishment of the sovereign council of Quebec.' But the prevalence of the Romish religion has a far more important influence, than the laws and administration of justice. After almost sixty years of subjection to England, the Canadian peasant retains the same easy and unthinking character, which that religion commonly produces among the lower classes. He enjoys all the tranquillity which the Turk derives from a belief in fatalism, while a confidence in the protection of his saint, and a habit of resignation, relieve him from the sullen gloom, that gathers over the brow of the follower of Mahomet. Till of late he feared no evil so much as change. Bouchette informs us, that the abhorrence of the Canadians for innovation has defeated all attempts to improve their system of agriculture, and has but recently begun to yield to more enlightened views.—Lieut. Hall has taken notice of the same feature.

'The runners of these sleighs are formed of two slips of wood, so low that the shafts collect the snow into a succession of wavy hillocks, properly christened "cahots," for they almost dislocate

your limbs five thousand times in a day's journey. An attempt was once made to correct this evil, by prohibiting all *low runners*, as they are called, from coming within a certain distance of Quebec; meaning, thereby, to force the country people into the use of high runners, in the American fashion. Jean Baptiste, however, sturdily and effectually resisted this heretical innovation, by halting with his produce without the limits, and thus compelling the towns-people to come to him to make their purchases.' p. 44.

And again.

'From Quebec to Montreal may be called one long village. On either shore a strip of land, seldom exceeding a mile in breadth, (except near the streams which fall into the St. Lawrence,) bounded by aboriginal forests, and thickly studded with low-browed farm-houses, white-washed from top to bottom, to which a log-barn and stable are attached, and commonly a neat plot of garden ground, represents all that is inhabited of Lower Canada. A cluster of these houses becomes a village, generally honoured with the name of some saint, whose church glitters afar with tin spires and belfry. Upon the shoulders of this patron saint, the Canadian rests the chief part of his cares, both temporal and eternal—having committed his seed to the same ground, and in the same manner with his forefathers, he trusts that the "*bon Dieu*" will, through the intercession of the said saint, do the rest. Should an inclement season, as was the case last year, disappoint his hopes, he is prepared patiently to confess himself, and die of hunger, fully persuaded that the blessed St. Anne, or St. Anthony, will not fail him in both worlds.' p. 77.

But this vitious contentment, which clings to ancient habits, however foolish or pernicious, is fast disappearing. The Canadian no longer resists improvement. An important change is going on in the Lower Province, of which the progress has been as rapid as the commencement was sudden. Its effects were probably not very apparent at the time of our author's visit, for he is silent respecting it. Should he revisit Canada at this moment he would find a spirit prevailing, very different from that 'which endures an evil rather than overcome it.' He would find a people lately distinguished by a bigoted attachment to French manners now striving in every thing to resemble Englishmen. He would find the Canadians, who a few years past thought of nothing but to live as their fathers had done before them, innocent but igno-

rant, now zealously cooperating in the establishment and support of banks, insurance companies, canal associations, and every other scheme of public usefulness. Montreal, which in 1791 contained only about 8000 inhabitants, now contains 25,000. Every thing indicates that these provinces are about to repay in liberal measure the care they have received from Great Britain. In what manner their revival may affect the interests of the United States may soon require the serious conderation of our statesmen. In the meanwhile, let us rejoice in their prosperity, and endeavour to counteract its effects upon ourselves rather by generous emulation, than by malignant jealousy.

No judgment is to be formed of what the Canadian Provinces can do from what they have hitherto done. Their agriculture has remained in a surprizing state of depression. Even the plough has been of comparatively little use in their tillage, for when they have employed this instrument, they have been satisfied with merely breaking the surface of the ground. Of the application of manures they are said to have been extremely ignorant, and the succession of crops has been altogether unknown. The impulse lately given, and the spirit that has been awakened, will in a short time develop agricultural resources, such as may astonish those who have not attended to the true causes of the insignificance of the Canadas. It becomes the farmers of New England to think well of these things, and to be stimulated to greater exertions for the improvement of agriculture, than they have ever yet made. A late act of our legislature has proved, that public patronage will not be wanting, when it is seconded by private zeal.

In Canada we find the feudal tenures still subsisting with all their appendages of courts, fines for alienation, reliefs and pre-emption, with different names indeed, but in substance the same, excepting the military part, as when introduced into England by William of Normandy. The greater part of the land on the banks of the Saint Lawrence is divided into seignories or manners, and was granted early in the history of the colony to gentlemen of family and distinction. These are parcelled out into *concessions*, which are 'lots of land, usually about three acres in front by 20, 30 or 40 in depth, let by the seignors at some trifling rent, either of money or produce, according to their quality, to such persons as are

willing to settle upon and cultivate them.' Great privileges are enjoyed by the seignor. Among others, he has the tithe of all fish taken, or an equivalent in money, and a twelfth part of the purchase money upon every transfer of lands, to be paid by the purchaser, but subject to an abatement of one quarter part, if paid immediately. By the old laws, which have never been repealed, the seignor is also entitled to hold courts, and to take cognizance of all crimes except treason and murder. [Bouchette]. But this privilege has lain dormant for many years, and it is not at all probable, that it will ever be revived.

It may seem strange, that institutions so cumbrous and artificial as those of feudalism, should, in the very time of their decrepitude and decay, have taken root and flourished in the midst of a wilderness, where immeasurable tracts acknowledged no superior lord, and might be claimed by nature's charter. But it is not difficult to discover reasons, besides those founded in the character of the French monarchy, and the interest of the proprietors, powerful enough to induce the adoption of the feudal form of polity, rather than of any other. Would the French husbandman quit the banks of the Loire and Garonne, to seize, as a private adventurer, a spot on the St. Lawrence, from which the incursions of the Iroquois might force him to fly, as soon as by labour and care, he had brought it to a tolerable state of cultivation? Would a band of peasants, accustomed to entrust every thing in war to the conduct of their nobles, have felt any heart or confidence to encounter, without a military chief, the dangers that surrounded them, as soon as they set foot in Canada? It was necessary to bestow the fiefs first on gentlemen of family, bred in the school of war, each of whom would select his followers and dependants, and with them take possession of his new territory. The case was widely different with our ancestors. They left Europe near a century later, and they came from a country, where the feudal polity had already began to yield to the spirit of trade and the growing importance of the people. They came animated with a zeal which belonged to the lowest, as well as the highest; they dreaded not the terrors of the savage, nor shrunk from toils and dangers, which they had long foreseen, and coolly measured; they were embarked in a cause, which had a nobler principle for its origin, than the love of gain, or the mere hope of subsistence.

In this cause the interest of all was equal; they admitted no superiority of rank, therefore, but such as was necessary for the purposes of good government. All that was oppressive in the feudal law they abolished, declaring, 'that all their lands and heritages should be free from all fines and licenses upon alienations, and from all heriots, wardships, liveries, primer-seisins, &c.—and that forever.' Thus, though they might still be said to *hold* of the king, it was rather as their political sovereign than as their feudal lord; and the long chain of connexion and dependence arising from the relation of lord and vassal, was entirely swept away.

Since the conquest of Canada by the British, the grants that have been made in the Lower Province have been free from feudal clogs, and in Upper Canada all lands are holden in free and common soccage. This last circumstance, without doubt, has contributed much to that marked difference of character, which is observable in the two provinces.

Among the virtues of the Canadians, their hospitality ought not to be forgotten. We cannot stay to discuss the nature of true hospitality, which, according to our author's notion, is to be found only among savage tribes, or in a state of society like that of the Virginia planters, where solitude and uniformity of life cause the company even of a stranger to be highly valued. The kindness that receives and cherishes the passing traveller, shelters him from the storm, supplies his wants, and sends him on his way cheered and gladdened with the warm rays of benevolence, is certainly something very different from the common courtesies, that are shown to strangers. It is the highest and noblest form of hospitality. In cities and populous countries there is no room for its exercise. But are there not still many occasions for the exhibition of kindness to strangers? Though they be not inmates in our houses, and depend not on us for food or shelter, may we not, in numberless ways, promote their ease, their pleasure, or their convenience? And why may not all that is done in this sort be properly enough called hospitality? It may be less meritorious than the first, but it springs from the same qualities of heart, and is productive of similar effects. 'In Canada there is much of open, liberal, unrestrained goodness to strangers. The curè of the village, it seems, is the personage, to whose house, in default of a tavern, the traveller, without scruple, betakes himself, secure of a cordial wel-

come. There he is at home, and shares in whatever comforts the mansion may afford. For his entertainment it is enough if he

'With many a tale repays the nightly bed.'

It was not therefore an unwarrantable liberty which our author took in the following instance:

'Rather more than half way betwixt Malbay and St. Paul's Bay, stands the little village of "Les Eboulemens." I stopped my caleche at the house of the curè, whose rosy *en bon point*, and good humour, betokened him equally at ease in spirituals and temporals. He regaled me with wine and strawberries, served by his sister, the staid gouvernante of his small menage; and if wine and fruit, after a dusty journey, required any sauce, I should have found it in the pleasure my entertainers seemed to feel in my appetite. He lamented he had nothing better to offer me, but if I would stay a few days, and make his house my home, the best he could procure was at my service. The only return he required, or I could make, to this hospitality, was to tell him the news, and leave him my name, to add to the small list of strangers, who had honoured his humble domicile. Perverse fortune, that planted thy social spirit on the bleak crest of "Les Eboulemens!" not one, I trust, of thy few visitants, has forgotten the smile of thy ruddy countenance, thy band and cassock, somewhat the worse for time and snuff, thy easy chair, and breviary tied up in black cloth; or the neat flower garden round thy porch, whence, at the interval of thy evening devotion, I can fancy thine eye resting complacently on the lovely prospect it commands—the small white church, gleaming in the vale below; beyond it a succession of lofty capes and wooded promontories, jutting into the broad St. Lawrence; and "Isle aux Coudres," lying, like a shield, on its bright waters.' pp. 67, 68.

A similar good fortune attended our traveller at Malbay, and in gratitude for the kindness of his hostess, he has related to us some of the circumstances of her history.

'I inquired, as is the custom in the untravelled parts of Canada, for the best house, in which to find hospitality for the night, and was directed to that of Madame Nairn, the lady of the Seignory. I found it a plain, and rather large dwelling, standing in a meadow, on the edge of the St. Lawrence. The lady was from home, but an old domestic assiduously welcomed me in: wine was immediately offered me, and in a few minutes, refreshments were on the table; eggs, tea, and bread and butter, to which a

long fast inclined me to do ample justice. I afterwards walked round the village.'—'I found a comfortable chamber prepared on my return, and breakfast on the table in the morning. "How do you contrive to get through your time here, my girl?" said I, to the rosy-cheeked damsel who kept up my supply of fresh eggs; "O, Sir, the time goes very quick; we have plenty of employment." "Well, but in winter?" "O the winter passes still quicker than the summer." I regretted I had not an opportunity of paying my respects to my kind hostess, in whose family time was allowed to jog quietly on, without any extraordinary contrivances for his destruction, a privilege so seldom granted him by the present generation. There is something of the romance of real life in Mrs. Nairn's history. She accompanied her husband from Scotland, during the American war, in which he served, and was rewarded by a grant of the Seignory of Malbay, a tract of mountain country, little prized by Canadian or English settlers, but dearer, perhaps, to him, from its likeness to his native Highlands. When he settled on it, there were but two houses, besides the one he built. He lived here till his death, and his widow has continued to reside here for forty-five years, during which the three houses have grown into a parish of three hundred inhabitants. Two of Mrs. Nairn's daughters are married and settled in the village. Her son fell in the Battle of Chrystler's Farm.' pp. 64—66.

We would gladly stay to view leisurely the hospitals, and other charitable or literary institutions, which piety has founded in Quebec and Montreal, but we are afraid of extending this article to an undue length. The self-devotion of the nuns cannot be viewed without admiration, and seems indeed almost to atone for whatever of superstition or error there may be in their opinions or their rites. Of the 'General Hospital,' founded in 1693 by the Bishop of Quebec, for 'Poor sick and Mendicants,' we have the following account.

'The present superiour is a lady of Irish extraction, her age apparently bordering on thirty. In this conventual seclusion, (devoted to what might well seem to the mind of a delicate female, the most disgusting duties of humanity,) she exhibits that easy elegance, and softened cheerfulness of manner, so often affected, and rarely attained by the many votaries, who dress their looks and carriage in "the glass of fashion." She conducted us, with the greatest politeness, through every part of the building, which, as well as the "Hotel Dieu," in point of order, neatness and arrangement, seems singularly adapted to the comfort and recovery of the unfortunate beings, to whose reception they are consecrated.

Their funds I understand to be small, and managed with strict economy. They receive a small sum annually from government, in addition to the revenue arising from their domain lands. *There is no distinction in the admission of Catholic or Protestant:* the hand of charity has spread a couch for each in his infirmities. Both houses have a small pharmacopœia in charge of a sister instructed in medicine. The several duties of tending the sick by night, cooking, &c. are distributed by rotation. Employment is thus equally secured to all, and the first evil of cankering thought effectually prevented.' pp. 51, 52.

'Let the lash of satire fall mercilessly on mere bigots, wherever they are found; but against the spirit, which, abjuring the pleasures, devotes itself to the most painful duties of life, what argument can be directed, which may not be left for its refutation to the prayers and blessings of the poor? The most objectionable part of the institution seems to be the committing of insane persons, of both sexes, to the charge of females: the answer is, that there is no other asylum for them; the blame therefore attaches to the police of the country; for it is evident, that women are very inadequate to the charge of such patients as require coercive treatment, particularly men.' p. 53.

Before we quit this part of our subject, we must indulge ourselves in one more extract for the purpose of introducing to our readers a man, whose benevolence has in it something heroic.

'The village of "Trois Rivieres" stands at the mouths of the St. Maurice, which, being three in number, were mistaken by Jacques Cartier, or his successors, for three distinct rivers, and thence the village had its name. It contains an Ursuline convent, which marks it for a place of some note in a Catholic country; but it is still more worthy of distinction, for being the residence of the Abbè de Calonne, brother to the French minister of that name, so unfortunately memorable. This excellent old man, on the return of Louis XVIII. to France, came into possession of property (chiefly forest-lands, which had remained in the hands of the government) to the value of 3000*l.* per annum, the whole of which he immediately divided betwixt his nephews; rightly judging that the real affection of relatives consists, not in a testamentary gift of wealth they are no longer able to enjoy, but in the speediest application of whatever means they possess, for promoting the happiness of their connexions. For himself, he considers it wealth enough that he is able to employ the evening of life in acts of piety and benevolence towards his little cure, whose tears will

honour his bier, and their grateful remembrance be all his glory upon earth. He was at this time actively engaged in alleviating the distress resulting from the last year's defective harvest. The inhabitants of many villages had, for some time, been reduced to live on such vegetables as they could pick from the woods and fields, and many had died of famine.' pp. 78, 79.

We must now hasten to Upper Canada. If we are asked for a description of the falls of Niagara, we can only say, that Lieut. Hall has not omitted so essential a part of his duty as a traveller. He has also given a good account of the advantages and disadvantages of Kingston, York, and Sacket's Harbour; but these too we must pass over.

From Ancaster our traveller made a visit to the Mohawk settlement on the Grand River. These Indians were a part of the celebrated confederacy of the Five Nations, who were so much feared by the French, under the name of Iroquois. These savages looked upon all the other tribes of North American Indians with contempt. They arrogated to themselves the right to domineer over them at pleasure, and dreadful was their vengeance upon all who resisted their claims. They carried war and havoc into every quarter with the confidence of men, who believed themselves invincible. They were firmly attached to the English interest, and the Hurons, who had allied themselves to the French, after having often felt the severity of their chastisement, were at last dispersed by their victorious arms, and their existence as a nation brought to a close. Their form of government was well adapted to secure prudence in council, and vigour in the field. Their ferocity made them an object of universal terror. If a single Mohawk was descried from the hills of New England, the alarm was instantly given, and men, women and children fled precipitately to the houses of the English settlers. Even to this refuge their enemies pursued them, and often slew them at the doors, but they always respected the inviolability of the dwelling. [*Colden's Hist. of the Five Nations.*] They were much given to speech-making, and had among them men of real eloquence. 'I am informed,' says Colden, 'that they are very nice in the turn of their expressions, and that few of themselves are so far masters of their language, as never to offend the ears of their Indian auditory, by an unpolite expression. They have, it seems, a certain *urbanitas* or *atticism*, in their language, of which the common ears are ever sensible,

though only their great speakers attain to it.'—Their considerate gravity in matters of business, and when about to deliver an important message, is not the least remarkable trait in their character. 'They sit down' (so the same historian tells us) 'for a minute or two at least, in silence, to recollect themselves before they speak, that they may not show any degree of fear or surprise, by an indecent expression. Every sudden repartee, in a public treaty, leaves with them an impression of a light, inconsiderate mind; but in private conversation, they use and are as delighted with brisk, witty answers, as we can be.' In what dread they were held by the French may be learned from the fact, reported also by Colden, that the Count de Frontenac, the polite governor of Canada, caused one of them, who had been taken prisoner, to be publicly burnt alive and tortured in Montreal, justifying his cruelty on the ground of necessary retaliation. 'But with submission to the politeness of the French nation, may I not ask,' (we quote again from Colden) 'whether every (or any) horrid action of a barbarous enemy can justify a *civilized* nation in doing the like?' To this question we were about to respond, as we believe every man of common humanity would do, if his attention were confined to the seventeenth century. Were it only the history of other nations and of times long gone by, that shocked us with such recitals, there would be little doubt about the character of the deed.—'Grandia monstra suis audebant temporibus.'—But our indignation will be somewhat more cautious, when we find ourselves constrained to add—'fecimus et nos hæc.'

In the war of our revolution, most of the Indians of the Five Nations remained true to their old friends, the British, and were compelled to take refuge in Canada, where they had lands assigned them on the banks of the Grand River. There it was, that our traveller found this wretched, degenerate remnant. His visit will be best described in his own words.

'The Mohawks have always been esteemed the head of the confederacy. They were strongly attached to the British interest, and first followed Sir William Johnson into Canada, under their chieftain, "the Monster Brandt." The Monster had, however, some good qualities. He accustomed his people to the arts of civilized life, and made farmers of them. He built a church, and translated one of the Gospels into the Mohawk language; for, like Clovis, and many of the early Anglo-Saxon, and Danish Christians,

he contrived to unite much religious zeal with the practices of natural ferocity. His grave is to be seen under the walls of his church. I have mentioned one of his sons: he has also a daughter living, who would not disgrace the circles of European fashion: her face and person are fine and graceful: she speaks English, not only correctly, but elegantly; and has, both in her speech and manners, a softness approaching to Oriental languor: she retains so much of her national dress as to identify her with her people, over whom she affects no superiority, but seems pleased to preserve all the ties and duties of relationship. She held the infant of one of her relations at the font, on the Sunday of my visit to the church. The usual church and baptismal service was performed by a Dr. Aaron, an Indian, and an assistant priest; the congregation consisted of 60 or 70 persons, male and female: many of the young men were dressed in the English fashion, but several of the old warriours came with their blankets, folded over them, like the drapery of a statue; and in this dress, with a step and mien of quiet energy, more forcibly reminded me of the ancient Romans than some other inhabitants of this continent, who have laid claim to the resemblance. Some of them wore large silver crosses, medals, and other trinkets, on the backs and breasts; and a few had bandeaus, ornamented with feathers. Dr. Aaron, a grey-headed Mohawk, had touched his cheeks and forehead with a few spots of vermilion, in honour of Sunday: he wore a surplice, and preached at considerable length; but his delivery was unimpassioned, and monotonous in the extreme. Indian eloquence decays with the peculiar state of society to which it owed its energy.

'The Mohawk village stands on a little plain, looking down upon the Grand river; upon the alluvion of which the inhabitants raise their crops, chiefly of Indian corn. Their houses are built of logs, rudely put together, and exhibiting externally a great appearance of neglect, and want of comfort. Some few are in a better condition: the house belonging to Brandt's family resembles that of a petty English farmer; Dr. Aaron's was neat and clean. The Doctor, who had been regularly ordained, and spoke very good English, told me the village had been injured much by the war, which had put a stop to its improvements, and dispersed the inhabitants over the country. This is probable enough: the Indians advance towards civilized life with a forced motion, and revert to habits of warfare and wandering, with a natural rebound.' pp. 135, 136.

All our readers have heard of Tecumseh. The following brief account of him, and the ode to his memory, we introduce

principally with a view to shew our author in his character of a poet, which he several times assumes in the course of his narrative.

'Among these, the most distinguished was Tecumseh, a Shawnee chieftain, whose courage and commanding talents recommended him, early in the war, not only to the notice, but to the personal esteem and admiration of Sir Isaac Brocke. Tecumseh perceived the necessity of a general Indian confederacy, as the only permanent barrier to the dominion of the States. What he had the genius to conceive, he had the talents to execute: eloquence, and address, courage, penetration, and what in an Indian is more remarkable than these, undeviating temperance. Under better auspices, this Amphictyonick league might have been effected; but after the death of his friend and patron, he found no kindred spirit with whom to act; but stung with grief and indignation, after upbraiding, in the bitterest sarcasms, the retreat of our forces, he engaged an American detachment of mounted riflemen, near the Moravian village, and having rushed forward, singly, to encounter their commanding officer, whom he mistook for General Harrison, he fell by a pistol ball. The exultations of the Americans on his death, afford unerring, because unintended, evidence of the dread his talents had inspired.

TO THE MEMORY OF TECUMSEH.

'Tecumseh has no grave, but eagles dipt
Their rav'ning beaks, and drank his stout heart's tide,
Leaving his bones to whiten where he died:
His skin by Christian tomahawks was stript
From the bar'd fibres.—Impotence of pride!
Triumphant o'er the earth-worm, but in vain
Deeming th' impassive spirit to deride,
Which, nothing or immortal, knows no pain!
Might ye torment him to this earth again,
That were an agony: his children's blood
Delug'd his soul, and, like a fiery flood,
Scorch'd up his core of being. Then the stain
Of flight was on him, and the wringing thought,
He should no more the crimson hatchet raise,
Nor drink from kindred lips his song of praise;
So Liberty, he deem'd, with life was cheaply bought.'
pp. 138—140.

In the early history of Canada, there are many examples of native chiefs, as brave, as faithful, and as intelligent, as Te-

cumseh. There is a remarkable coincidence between the character and pursuits of Kondiaronk, commonly called 'the Rat,' a Huron chief of great celebrity, and those of the noted warrior just mentioned. Like him, he was unshaken in his fidelity, and undaunted in danger; like him, he persevered in the midst of discouragement and difficulty, and relinquished his design only with his life; both had conceived the same plan of establishing a general peace among the native tribes; both possessed an eloquence, and a vigour of intellect well suited to the accomplishment of their views. We may add, that Charlevoix says of Kondiaronk, that he was the only man in Canada, that could vie with the Count de Frontenac in wit and repartee.

In the route of our traveller from Black Rock to Philadelphia we find nothing worthy of remark.

Philadelphia gives occasion to a discussion of some length upon the state of the Fine Arts, especially painting; another upon society and manners, and a third upon the penitentiary system. Each of these contains some just and useful remarks, but in regard to manners the author has fallen into mistakes, which a longer residence would have corrected.

The first appearance of slavery draws from Lieut. Hall a warm and decided expression of pity for the sufferings of the slave. 'A slave,' he says, 'is one for whom the laws of humanity are reversed, who has known nothing of society but its injustice, nothing of his fellow men, but his hardened, undisguised, atrocious selfishness.'—Nor are the effects of this practice upon the masters less deplorable. 'Did the miserable condition of the negro leave him mind for reflection, he might laugh in his chains to see how slavery has stricken the land with ugliness.'

At Washington he finds little to admire, excepting the pleasant society into which he had there the good fortune to fall.

At Mount Vernon the tomb of Washington was of course the object of our traveller's search.

'Having walked through the gardens, I requested the old German gardener, who acted as Cicerone, to conduct me to the tomb of Washington: "Dere, go by dat path, and you will come to it," said he: I followed the path across the lawn, to the brow that overlooks the Potomac, and passing a kind of cellar in the bank, which seemed to be an ice-house, continued my search, but

to no effect:—I had already found it: this cellar-like hole in the bank, closed by an old wooden door, which had never been even painted, was the tomb of Washington, with not a rail, a stone, or even a laurel "to flourish o'er his grave."' p. 203.

After visiting some of the mountain scenery of Virginia, the author reaches the residence of Mr. Jefferson. How much delight he received from this visit, he tells us in the following sentence.

'I slept a night at Monticello, and left it in the morning, with such a feeling as the traveller quits the mouldering remains of a Grecian temple, or the pilgrim a fountain in the desert.' p. 230.

Richmond, Raleigh and Charleston have their share of attention, but we shall spare our readers any remarks upon this part of the work. The appendix contains three divisions. That upon slavery is honourable to the writer as a man of humanity and good sense. That upon the American character is crude and unsatisfactory, but such as we should expect to be written by any one depending upon means of observation so limited, and sources of information so suspicious, as our author seems to have possessed. In that on government, he has, we think, ventured far beyond the limits to which a prudent consideration of the difficulty of the subject would have confined him.

We shall close our review by quoting a passage, which we read with much pleasure. It is a good specimen, in addition to those before quoted, of the author's manner already noticed of describing natural scenery so as to communicate to the reader the same tone of moral feeling, with which it was viewed by himself.

'The bustle of the road had all vanished by the time I entered the little wood immediately round the ferry, and was succeeded by a scene of quiet splendour, that Claude would have delighted in. I seated myself on a rock, near the water's edge, to admire it. An orchard, belonging to the ferry house, with the adjacent wood, closed the back ground: on my right the river spread out into the lake of the Two Mountains, whose blue summits bounded the prospect in that direction: on my left was a little church of grey stone, stained with moss and going fast to decay; beyond which, on the opposite shore, lay the massive woods of L'Isle Perroi: the river in front of me (which is here about three miles over) was spotted with numberless rocky inlets, behind which

the sun, sinking in a flood of golden fire, presented, in beautiful relief, the dark clumps of pine trees, which seemed pencilled out on their summits. A herd of cattle at this moment came down to water, and as they loitered listlessly in the glassy stream, seemed to share with man, in the tranquil feelings of the scene and hour. The ferryman's broad straw hat, and light canoe, now appeared; and as we paddled swiftly by these many little island-bowers, towards the glowing west, fancy may be pardoned for half sketching a passage to the Elysian fields, or enchanted gardens of Italian romance. The blaze of sun-set had mellowed into the purple tints of evening, before we reached the opposite shore: I proceeded by moonlight to the Cedars—p. 92.

Here we would stop, had not the author, as if to convince us how little this poetic description cost him, by the recklessness with which he mars it, added—

'Where I procured tea, by knocking up a civil landlord, and the next morning went on to Coteau-du-Lac.' p. 92.

ART. X.—*An Account of the History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the neighbouring States. By Rev. John Heckewelder. From volume I. of Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia.* pp. 347. Philadelphia, 1819.

THERE is probably no part of the world that furnishes so few objects to connect us with antiquity, as that which we inhabit. Every thing about us, excepting only the works of nature, is of recent origin. Every thing to be found of human art, and every trace of human existence relates almost wholly to the present generation. Beyond the period of the discovery and settlement of this country by our European ancestors, a date but of yesterday, we have neither written history, nor, except some faint and confused traditions, memorials of any other description. To penetrate beyond that date into the past, is almost as difficult as to unveil the secrets of the future. All is dark and uncertain.

It is even difficult, after a period of only two centuries, to obtain a very precise idea of the condition of the country and its inhabitants, at the time of its discovery and occupation

by our ancestors. The whole face of things is changed. A new world has almost been created. Every thing about us is in a state of progression and revolution. A whole race of people has become nearly extinct, and a universal forest has yielded to the abodes of civilization. We are not, like other cultivated countries, surrounded by the monuments of the dead, nor do we merely succeed to the dwellings left vacant by our fathers, but we are now more numerous, than all who are in their graves; and it is a remarkable law of our growing population, that so long as the present ratio of increase continues, the living will forever be more numerous than all the dead. The present therefore, with us is always overwhelming the past, and throwing it into insignificance and obscurity.

It is however an inquiry of some interest, to ascertain something of the history, character and condition of the race of men who were, but a short time ago, the proprietors and sole occupants of this vast country. Aside from any considerations arising from their peculiar character, it should be enough to attract us to the inquiry, that they were a part of the human family, left indeed with but few of the lights of experience and means of cultivation, but on that account furnishing an opportunity to observe the natural power of the understanding in a condition in which it is destitute of nearly all the means of instruction. There are also naturally associated, from the place of their actual residence, with the scenes in which we take the greatest delight. We ought therefore carefully to collect every thing that remains to us, that can serve to make us acquainted with this unfortunate people, whose fate it has been, like the morning dew, insensibly and mysteriouly to disappear, before the lights of civilization and christianity.

The work before us is devoted to this subject. It consists of an account of the traditions, manners and customs of the Indians of the Lenni-Lenape, or Delaware nation, drawn up by a careful observer, who had resided among them many years in the character of a christian missionary. He begins with the history of the emigration of this nation to the shores of the Atlantic, from the western extremity of the continent, as it is furnished by the traditions still preserved among them, and carefully collected by the author from their own mouths. We shall not go into any disquisition upon the probable truth of this tradition, or upon the very difficult

question, when and how the solitude of this vast continent was first disturbed by the introduction of men and animals into it, because the inquiry would not be likely to lead us to any satisfactory result. We will however give the outlines of this narrative, as it may serve to fill up in the mind of the reader, a chasm in our history, until it is supplied by something more authentic.

They relate that their ancestors, many hundred years ago, resided in a very distant country, in the western part of this continent. For some reason that is not explained, they determined to emigrate in a body towards the east. After a long journey of many years' continuance, they arrived on the banks of the Namæsi Sipu, or Mississippi. Here they met the Mengwe, or Iroquois Indians, since called the Five Nations, who were also from a very remote region, and bound on a similar pilgrimage with themselves. Their spies brought them intelligence that the country east of the Mississippi was inhabited by a very powerful nation, called Talligewi, or Alligewi. who had many large towns on the Alleghany or Ohio, and the other rivers that flowed through their country. These people were remarkably tall and stout, and some of them had the stature and strength of giants. They had built regular fortifications or intrenchments, the ruins of which still remain, to excite the curiosity of travellers and antiquaries. The Lenape sent a message to the Alligewi, requesting permission to settle among them. This was refused, but leave was granted them to pass through the country, and seek a settlement farther eastward. But after they had begun to cross the Mississippi, the Alligewi, perceiving how numerous they were,—for they amounted to many thousands,—made a furious attack upon them, and threatened with destruction all who should cross the river. The Lenape were enraged at this unexpected treachery, and resolved on revenging it. They united with them the Mengwe, and the two nations declared war against the Alligewi. Great battles were fought, and many warriors fell on both sides, but of these transactions few details are preserved. The enemy strengthened their fortifications, and entrenched themselves in their towns. No quarter was given —hundreds of the slain were buried in the same grave, or laid together in piles and covered with earth—and the Alligewi at last, after a war of many years, became so reduced, that to escape entire destruction, they abandoned the country, and

fled down the Mississippi, to a region from which they never returned. The conquerors divided the country betweem themselves—the northern part in the vicinity of the lakes and their tributary streams being assigned to the Mengwe, and the southern, bordering on the Ohio, to the Lenape—and they lived in peace for a period of some hundred years.

In process of time, the two nations having become exceedingly numerous, some of their huntsmen and warriors crossed the Alleghany mountains, and having discovered some of the streams that flow towards the Atlantic, followed them, partly by land and partly by water, until they reached the Susquehannah river, and finally Chesapeake Bay, and Delaware and Hudson rivers. Some of these adventurers returned to report to their nation the rich discoveries they had made,—a vast country abounding in fruits and game, without owner or occupant, and where the beasts of the field were the only savages. The nation considered this as the country destined for them by the Great Spirit, and immediately began to emigrate thither. The removal to so great a distance was an arduous enterprize, and could be accomplished only by small bodies at a time; on account of the difficulty of procuring provisions. But at length about half the people of the Lenape nation settled themselves on the banks of the Hudson, the Delaware, the Susquehannah, and the Potomac. Another portion never crossed the Mississippi, from a dread of the enemy whom they must have encountered before entering the land of promise, and still another portion, the smallest of the three, remained in their new habitations upon the Ohio.

That part of the nation who seated themselves upon the shores of the Atlantic, again multiplied with great rapidity. They were divided into three tribes, two of which extended themselves principally along the sea-coast, from the Hudson to the Potomac, and the third, called the Minsi, or Wolf tribe, settled in the interior, extending to the Hudson on the east, to the sources of the Delaware and Susquehannah on the north, and towards the southwest far beyond the Susquehannah. These three tribes formed the main body of the nation, called the Delawares; but from these sprung many other tribes, who emigrated in different directions, whithersoever their fancy led them, and assumed distinct names, though they retained their affection for the parent stock, of whom they were always proud to be denominated the grandchildren. The

Mohicans were one of these tribes. Choosing to live by themselves, they crossed the Hudson river, and finally spread themselves over the whole country of New England. The Nanticokes, in like manner, proceeded to the south, and settled in Maryland and Virginia.

The Mengwe extended themselves along the lakes towards the east to the borders of the Ontario and St. Lawrence, and were still the neighbours of the Lenape. At length they became jealous of the superior prosperity of their ancient allies, and they treacherously attempted to excite quarrels between them and some of the distant tribes. In this design they so far succeeded as to involve the Lenape in a bloody war with the Cherokees. The artifices of the Mengwe were, however, soon discovered. On this account, and because they were known to eat human flesh, and to kill men for the purpose of devouring them, the Lenape determined on taking an exemplary revenge, and even extirpating them from the country. War was openly declared, and hostilities were commenced with vigour. On this alarming occasion, the Mengwe, who had until this period acted as distinct and independent tribes, entered into a firm confederacy, and engaged to make a common cause, and to unite their forces for the common defence. Hence the name of the Five Nations, and afterwards, on the admission of a new member to the confederacy, the Six Nations. This union was formed some time in the 16th century, or about one age before the Dutch entered the Hudson. A most bloody war was still carried on for a long time, between the confederates and the Delawares, in which the Lenape say that they were generally victorious. In the midst of this war, the French landed in Canada, and the Mengwe, who were unwilling to permit them to establish themselves in the country, were soon involved in still more threatening hostilities on that side. They were soon obliged to retire before the French from the shores of the St. Lawrence, to the interior, where, on the other hand, they were exposed to the attacks of their ancient rival and enemy.

To extricate themselves from this state of imminent peril, they resorted to a deep laid stratagem, if we may rely upon the accounts given by the Lenape themselves, supported, as Mr Heckewelder thinks, by a great variety of circumstances which he relates. Whenever hostilities between any two Indian nations are brought to a close, the peace is effected by

the intervention of the weaker sex. For men to sue for a termination of the war would be regarded as an act of cowardice. It is not becoming, say they, for a warrior with the bloody weapon in his hand, to hold pacific language to his enemy. But in the other sex, compassion and tenderness are virtues even in the eye of an Indian, and it is usual for them to act the part of mediators.

'On these occasions,' says our author, 'they were very eloquent. They would lament with great feeling the losses suffered on both sides, when there was not a warrior, perhaps, who had not lost a son, a brother, or a friend. They would describe the sorrows of widowed wives, and above all, of bereaved mothers. The pains of childbirth, the anxieties attending the progress of their sons from infancy to manhood, they had willingly and even cheerfully suffered; but after all these trials, how cruel was it for them to see those promising youths, whom they had reared with so much care, fall victims to the rage of war, and a prey to a relentless enemy; to see them slaughtered on the field of battle, or put to death as prisoners, by a protracted torture, in the midst of the most exquisite torments. The thought of such scenes made them curse their own existence, and shudder at the idea of bearing children. Then they would conjure the warriors by every thing that was dear to them, to take pity on the sufferings of their wives and helpless infants, to turn their faces once more towards their homes, families and friends, to forgive the wrongs suffered from each other, to lay aside their deadly weapons, and smoke together the pipe of amity and peace. They had given on both sides, sufficient proofs of their courage; the contending nations were alike high minded and brave; and they must now embrace as friends, those whom they had learned to respect as enemies. Speeches like these seldom failed of their intended effect, and the women by this honourable function of peace makers, were placed in a situation by no means undignified. It would not be a disgrace, therefore; on the contrary, it would be an honour to a powerful nation, who could not be suspected of wanting either strength or courage, to assume that station by which they would be the means, and the only means, of preserving the general peace, and saving the Indian race from utter extirpation.' pp. 40, 41.

The artful Mengwe, by pacific professions and flattering representations, prevailed on the Lenape to assume the character and office of mediators, and the appellation of *women*. It was represented to them as a magnanimous course, becoming a powerful and respectable nation. They were told that

as men they had been dreaded, and as women they would be respected and honoured. None would dare to attack or insult them, and as women they would have a right to interfere in all the quarrels of other nations, and to prevent the effusion of Indian blood. Persuaded by these flattering arguments, they laid down the arms and all the insignia of warriors, and engaged to devote themselves to agriculture and other pacific employments, to qualify them to act as the pacificators of the Indian nations. This determination was received with great joy, and celebrated by a splendid feast with appropriate ceremonies. The Lenape were installed in their new functions, speeches were delivered, and the great peace-belt—the chain of friendship—was laid across the shoulders of the new mediator, one end of which was to be taken hold of by all the Indian nations, and the other by the Europeans.

This transaction took place soon after the Dutch settled on the Hudson, and they are suspected of having been the inventors of this deep laid scheme for humbling the power of the Lenape. They were the friends and allies of the Five Nations, and their own possessions were in danger from the obstinate war that was carried on by the Lenape against them. The consequences were exceedingly humbling and injurious to the Lenape. The Five Nations treacherously represented to the English who came into the country, that they had conquered the Lenape in fair and open warfare, and had reduced them to the condition of women. They were therefore regarded as dependents and tributaries, and treated with little respect, while the alliance of the Five Nations was carefully courted. Their lands were encroached upon by the English with little ceremony, and the hostility of the Cherokees was again brought upon them by the treachery of the Five Nations. They were only prevented from taking up arms, and revenging these repeated injuries, by the constant arrival of the English, who encroached upon them in every quarter. This event engaged all their attention and exhausted all their faculties. Their whole time was consumed in fruitless deliberations on what they should do, and their awe of their new visiters left them no strength or vigour to attack their old enemy, whom they might have easily defeated. William Penn and his followers treated them with great kindness and friendship, and this kindness was reciprocated

by the Lenape. But the other English settlers treated them with great injustice, and seemed to enter into the views of their ancient enemy, who wished to destroy them. They were led by these repeated injuries to join the French in the war of 1756, during the whole of which they bore arms against the English. In the war of our revolution they took up arms on the part of the United States, in opposition to the Six Nations who were on the side of Great Britain. It was not until this war, that the Six Nations abandoned their absolute pretension of calling the Lenape women, and formally acknowledged that they were men.

This is a hasty outline of the traditionary narrative here given us. It is not our intention to go into an investigation of the claim set up in behalf of this nation, to be considered the parent stock of so many tribes, or of the general credibility of the narrative. It certainly contradicts many commonly received opinions relative to this people. None of the old writers that we have had access to, speak of the Delaware Indians as of any such relative importance and distinction. Nor do we find much to support the history here given of the Five Nations. The account of them by Colden, their principal historian, is entirely different. There are so many contradictions in the different authors who must be referred to as authorities on the general subject, that it is exceedingly difficult to form an opinion. That of the author before us is entitled to the greatest respect, and there are certainly many remarkable facts that are satisfactorily accounted for, upon the hypothesis which he assumes of the origin of the Atlantic tribes. The similarity of language throughout all these tribes proves some degree of relationship among them. This is further proved by their similar character, manners and customs. All the Indians along the Atlantic coast also had some confused notion that their ancestors sprung from the west. Roger Williams, in his 'Key into the Language of the Indians of New England,' printed in 1643, says, 'it is famous that the southwest is the great subject of their discourse. From thence their traditions. There they say, at the southwest, are their forefathers' souls. To the southwest they go themselves when they die. From the southwest came their corn and beans, out of the great god Cawtantowwit's field,' &c. Similar passages might be quoted from other authorities.

We shall close our notice of this part of the work by an extract of some length, in which the author relates, as nearly as possible in the language of an intelligent Delaware Indian, from whom he received it, the tradition existing among this people, of the first arrival of the Europeans among them. The event referred to is probably the arrival of the Dutch under Captain Hudson in New York harbour in the year 1609.

'A great many years ago, when men with a white skin had never yet been seen in this land, some Indians who were out a fishing, at a place where the sea widens, espied at a great distance, something remarkably large floating on the water, and such as they had never seen before. These Indians immediately returning to the shore, apprised their countrymen of what they had observed, and pressed them to go out with them and discover what it might be. They hurried out together, and saw with astonishment the phenomenon which now appeared to their sight, but could not agree upon what it was; some believed it to be an uncommonly large fish or animal, while others were of opinion it must be a very big house floating on the sea. At length the spectators concluded that this wonderful object was moving towards the land, and that it must be an animal or something else that had life in it; it would therefore be proper to inform all the Indians on the inhabited islands, of what they had seen, and put them on their guard. Accordingly they sent off a number of runners and watermen to carry the news to their scattered chiefs, that they might send off in every direction for the warriors, with a message that they should come on immediately. These arriving in numbers, and having themselves viewed the strange appearance, and observing that it was actually moving towards the entrance of the river or bay, concluded it to be a remarkably large house, in which the Mannitto, the great or Supreme Being, himself was present, and that he probably was coming to visit them. By this time the chiefs were assembled at York Island, and deliberating in what manner to receive their Mannitto on his arrival. Every measure was taken to be well provided with plenty of meat for a sacrifice. The women were desired to prepare the best victuals. All the idols, or images were examined and put in order, and a grand dance was supposed not only to be an agreeable entertainment for the Great Being, but it was believed that it might, with the addition of a sacrifice, contribute to appease him, if he was angry with them. The conjurers were also set to work, to determine what this phenomenon portended, and what the possible result of it might be. To these and to the

chiefs and wise men of the nations, men, women, and children were looking up for advice and protection. Distracted between hope and fear, they were at a loss what to do; a dance however commenced in great confusion.

'While in this situation, fresh runners arrive, declaring it to be a large house of various colours, and crowded with living creatures. It appears now to be certain that it is the great Mannitto, bringing them some kind of game, such as he had not given them before; but other runners soon after arriving declare that it is positively a house full of human beings, of quite a different colour from that of the Indians, and dressed differently from them; that in particular one of them was dressed entirely in red, who must be the Mannitto himself. They are hailed from the vessel in a language they do not understand, yet they shout or yell in return by way of answer, according to the custom of their country; many are for running off to the woods, but are pressed by others to stay, in order not to give offence to their visiter who might find them out and destoy them. The house, some say, large canoe, at last stops, and a canoe of a smaller size comes on shore with the red man and some others in it; some stay with his canoe to guard it. The chiefs and wise men, assembled in council, form themselves into a large circle, towards which the man in red clothes approaches with two others. He salutes them with a friendly countenance, and they return the salute after their manner. They are lost in admiration; the dress, the manners, the whole appearance of the unknown strangers is to them a subject of wonder; but they are particularly struck with him who wore the red coat all glittering with gold lace, which they could in no manner account for. He, surely, must be the great Mannitto, but why should he have a white skin? Meanwhile a large *Hackhack** is brought by one of his servants, from which an unknown substance is poured out into a small cup or glass, and handed to the supposed Mannitto. He drinks, has the glass filled again, and hands it to the chief standing next to him. The chief receives it, but only smells the contents and passes it on to the next chief, who does the same. The glass or cup thus passes through the circle, without the liquor being tasted by any one, and is upon the point of being returned to the red clothed Mannitto, when one of the Indians, a brave man and a great warrior, suddenly jumps up and harangues the assembly on the impropriety of returning the cup with its contents. It was handed to them, says he, by the Mannitto, that they should drink out of it as he himself had done.

* Hackhack is properly a gourd, but since they have seen glass bottles and decanters, they call them by the same name.

To follow his example would be pleasing to him; but to return what he had given them might provoke his wrath and bring destruction on them. And since the orator believed it for the good of the nation that the contents offered them should be drunk, and as no one else would do it, he would drink it himself let the consequence be what it might; it was better for one man to die than that a whole nation should be destroyed. He then took the glass, and bidding the assembly a solemn farewell, at once drank up its whole contents. Every eye was fixed on the resolute chief, to see what effect the unknown liquor would produce. He soon began to stagger, and at last fell prostrate on the ground. His companions now bemoan his fate, he falls into a sound sleep, and they think he has expired. He wakes again, jumps up and declares, that he has enjoyed the most delicious sensations, and that he never before felt himself so happy as after he had drunk the cup. He asks for more, his wish is granted; the whole assembly then imitate him, and all become intoxicated.

'After this general intoxication had ceased,—for they say that while it lasted the whites had confined themselves to their vessel,—the man with the red clothes returned again, and distributed presents among them, consisting of beads, axes, hoes, and stockings such as the white people wear. They soon became familiar with each other, and began to converse by signs. The Dutch made them understand that they would not stay here, that they would return home again, but would pay them another visit the next year, when they would bring them more presents and stay with them awhile; but as they could not live without eating, they should want a little land of them to sow seeds, in order to raise herbs and vegetables to put into their broth. They went away as they had said, and returned in the following season, when both parties were much rejoiced to see each other; but the whites laughed at the Indians, seeing that they knew not the use of the axes and hoes they had given them the year before; for they had these hanging to their breasts as ornaments, and the stockings were made use of as tobacco pouches. The whites now put handles to the former for them, and cut trees down before their eyes, hoed up the ground, and put the stockings on their legs. Here, they say, a general laughter ensued among the Indians, that they had remained ignorant of the use of such valuable implements, and had borne the weight of such heavy metal hanging to their necks, for such a length of time. They took every white man they saw for an inferior Mannitto, attendant on the Supreme Deity, who shone superior in the red and laced clothes. As the whites became daily more familiar with the Indians, they at last proposed to stay with them, and asked only for so much ground

for a garden spot, as they said the hide of a bullock would cover or encompass, which hide was spread before them. The Indians readily granted this apparently reasonable request; but the whites then took a knife, and beginning at one end of the hide, cut it up to a long rope, not thicker than a child's finger, so that by the time the whole was cut up, it made a great heap; they then took the rope at one end, and drew it gently along, carefully avoiding its breaking. It was drawn out into a circular form, and being closed at its ends, encompassed a large piece of ground. The Indians were suprised at the superior wit of the whites, but they did not wish to contend with them about a little land, as they had still enough for themselves. The white and red men lived contentedly together for a long time, though the former from time to time asked for more land, which was readily obtained, and thus they gradually proceeded higher up the Mahicanittuck, until the Indians began to believe that they would soon want all their country, which in the end proved true.' pp. 54—59.

The author relates in a pathetic style the complaints which the Indians make of the injuries which they have received from the Europeans. They admit that there are good white men, but say that they bear no proportion to the bad; that the bad must be strongest, for they rule. 'They enslave,' say they, 'those who are not of their colour, although created by the same spirit who created us. They would make slaves of us if they could, but as they cannot do it, they kill us. There is no faith to be placed in their words.' The Virginians, whom they call the *Long Knives*, were the first settlers among them. 'We took them by the hand,' say they, 'and bid them welcome to sit down by our side, and live with us as brothers; but how did they requite our kindness? They at first asked only for a little land, on which to raise bread for themselves and their families, and pasture for their cattle, which we freely gave them. They soon wanted more, which we also gave them. They saw the game in the woods, which the Great Spirit had given us for our subsistence, and they wanted that too. Whenever they saw spots of land that pleased them, they took it from us by force, and drove us to a great distance from our ancient homes.'

From the *Dutcheman* at New York, they received no better treatment. After fraudulently obtaining a grant of a large piece of land, instead of a very small one, which had been bargained for, under the pretence of planting greens for their

soup, they planted great guns, and built strong houses. 'They then,' say they, 'went up the river to our enemies, the Mengwe, made a league with them, persuaded us by their wicked arts to lay down our arms, and at last drove us entirely out of the country.'

The English people who settled in New England, and whom, in their imperfect mode of pronunciation, they called *Yengeese*,—whence undoubtedly the appellation of *Yankees*,—were equally the subject of their complaints. The Yengeese, they say, looked about every where for good spots of land, and when they found one, they immediately took possession of it. By degrees they became possessed of their whole country, and the miserable remnants of their tribes were obliged to seek an asylum in remote countries.

How far our ancestors deserve censure for their general treatment of the Indians, is a question which admits of some variety of opinion. It is undeniable that the settlement of the Europeans in this country has produced the ruin and almost total extinction of the ancient people. They are correct in ascribing to the arrival of our ancestors among them, the greatest evils that can befal a nation. They, who had centuries ago, after a journey as adventurous as the voyage of Columbus, taken possession of these shores, as a country expressly designed for them by the Great Spirit, and had here become a numerous and happy people, have been compelled to give up their possessions to adventurers and strangers, and to retrace their steps towards the forgotten regions from which their fathers emigrated,—their pride humbled, their spirits broken, and their noble virtues exchanged for degrading vices,—in search of an obscure retreat, in which the remnant of their nation may drag out a miserable existence. It is no wonder that they remember with bitterness the day in which the Europeans landed on this continent, and reproach them as the authors of their degradation and their calamities.

But there is another view in which this subject must be regarded. However sacred we may consider the right of property of the natives to have been, in the soil of this country, we must at the same time admit their competency to alien it, for such consideration as they esteemed adequate, and also the right of Europeans to purchase. It is but the natural course of human events, that in dealings between men of different gifts and degrees of information, the party endowed

with experience and foresight, should make the greatest profit of their transactions, and without supposing any fraud or dishonesty in the case. It ought not to be supposed, because the aboriginal proprietor made an improvident bargain, that he was overreached, or that, because the ultimate consequences of the admission of the Europeans among the native inhabitants have been calamitious to the latter, there was any abuse on the part of the former, of the rights of hospitality, or a violation of the principles of justice. Nor should it be inferred from the poverty of the Indians and their successive alienations of their lands, until they have at last deprived themselves of their homes and country, that any undue advantage was taken of their ignorance and weakness. It is the certain consequence of industry, enterprise and skill, to prevail over indolence and ignorance; and for a people, as well as individuals, distinguished by these thrifty virtues, to engross every thing that belongs to their neighbours of an opposite character. The growth of the European settlers of this country, therefore, and the decay of the natives, are sufficiently accounted for, without supposing that the former abused their power and skill, or that the latter were oppressed or defrauded. The former, it is true, derived a permanent benefit from their purchases, because they knew how to avail themselves of all the advantages which they acquired; and the latter were always impoverished by the sale of their possessions, however ample the purchase money, because they wasted it upon their appetites and vices, and had neither self-denial nor skill enough to appropriate it in any way for their permanent good.

It is sufficiently well authenticated, that the founders of most of the English colonies in this country, particularly those in New England, were extremely conscientious and upright in all their dealings with the natives, and humane in their treatment of them. They often purchased the title to the lands on which they settled,—more than once of successive claimants; and if it should seem from the consequences to both parties, that they purchased at too cheap a rate, it is because the circumstances which we have mentioned were not taken into consideration. They purchased according to the true measure of value, for what those who had a right to sell were glad to receive as full payment, and generally without collusion or undue influence. It is not probable that the ulti-

mate consequence to the Indians,—their total extinction,—was at first foreseen. As soon as it was found necessary and practicable, provision was made for their preservation, and there are now in existence several tribes of Indians whose property is placed under the special protection and guaranty of the laws. To adopt this course with the whole body of the Indian population from the beginning, would not have been practicable, had it been thought necessary.

Certainly it cannot be charged upon the early colonists as a crime, that they came and sat down among the natives, with their consent, bringing with them the arts of civilization and the blessings of christianity, whatever may have been the remote and unforeseen consequences of that measure. They had a right to expect, and many of the early pilgrims did expect with a generous enthusiasm, that they should be able to civilize the natives, and to convert them to the true religion. Many noble efforts were made to this end, and not entirely without success, though it must be confessed that the fruits were by no means proportioned to the hopes entertained, or the labours endured.

On the whole, therefore,—although it is natural for the few remaining Indians, (since they could not be brought to enjoy the arts of civilized life) to regard the settlement of the Europeans in this country, and the establishment of an empire, rich in industry, knowledge and virtue, on the ruins of their nation, as the greatest of human calamities,—their decay and ruin are to be ascribed to their own mode of life, and not to injustice and rapacity in those who knew better than they how to improve the bounties of providence. They have been in general dealt with, by our countrymen, with exemplary justice, and often with much indulgence and kindness. Their condition has been always regarded with an eye of compassion, and a regret has every where been felt, that the wretchedness of the savage life was such as not to admit of alleviation.

Yet there have been instances in every age, from the discovery of this continent to the present day, in which some of the Indian tribes have been treated with the most barbarous cruelty. From the date when Capt. Thomas Hunt decoyed twenty-seven of the natives on board his ship at Patuxet and Nanset, and sold them for slaves in the West Indies, to the day when the Prophet Francis and the Chief Hemattlemico, were decoyed on board an American ship of war, and hanged

without trial, there have been individuals of our countrymen capable of committing acts which give too much occasion for the complaints which our author describes. Crimes have been too often committed against the Indians with impunity; and they have sometimes been judged with too great severity for acts which were but a just retribution for wrongs they had already suffered.

It admits of doubt, also, whether the course of policy which is at present pursued by our government towards this unhappy race, is precisely consonant with those principles of enlightened humanity, with which it is our boast to be governed in our national transactions. Do we not press too closely upon their footsteps, as they retreat to the wilderness? The progress of their depopulation and extermination was probably never more rapid than it is at the present moment. Treaties are negotiated almost every day 'for extinguishing the Indian title,' as it is called, in extensive tracts of country; and each negotiation of this kind is one step towards extinguishing the Indian race and name. That they should become extinct is inevitable. That they should be overwhelmed by the growth of a contiguous civilized nation, unless they can themselves adopt the arts of civilized life, may be considered an uncontrollable law of nature. But this cannot excuse us for pressing upon them with indecent haste. If they must perish, let them die a natural, and not a violent death.

Mr. Heckewelder represents the Indians in a much more favourable light than that in which we have been accustomed to regard them. This is perhaps the natural consequence of his greater intimacy with them. His situation among them would naturally dispose him to feel towards them something like the sentiments of a father towards his children. He has been able to sow good seed among them, which for want of culture has produced no fruit; to observe their want of the lights and the motives which govern the conduct of civilized men, and to judge them by a standard graduated in some measure by their own imperfect sense of right and duty. It is more pleasant, as well as more instructive, to be presented with such views of the character of any people. It gives us a more gratifying as well as a fairer estimate of human nature, and enables us to appreciate more correctly the effect and value of education and refinement.

He represents them as a religious people. 'The Indian,' says he, 'considers himself as being created by an all-powerful, wise and benevolent Mannitto; all that he possesses, all that he enjoys, he looks upon as given to him or allotted for his use, by the Great Spirit who gave him life; he therefore believes it to be his duty to adore and worship his creator and benefactor; to acknowledge with gratitude his past favours, thank him for present blessings, and solicit the continuation of his good will.' And again, he says, 'habitual devotion to the great first cause, and a strong feeling of gratitude for the benefits which he confers, is one of the prominent traits which characterize the mind of the untutored Indian.' This sentiment is strenghthened among them by their mode of education.

'The first step that parents take towards the education of their children, is to prepare them for future happiness, by impressing upon their tender minds, that they are indebted for their existence to a great, good and benevolent Spirit, who not only has given them life, but has ordained them for certain great purposes. That he has given them a fertile, extensive country, well stocked with game of every kind for their subsistence, and that by one of his inferior spirits he has also sent down to them from above, corn, pumpkins, squashes, beans and other vegetables for their nourishment; all which blessings their ancestors have enjoyed for a great number of ages. That this Great Spirit looks down upon the Indians, to see whether they are grateful to him and make him a due return for the many benefits he has bestowed, and therefore that it is their duty to show their thankfulness by worshipping him, and doing that which is pleasing in his sight.' p. 99.

The author goes on to describe the course of their education. Next to a sense of gratitude and reverence for the Supreme Being and of the importance of doing good and avoiding evil for the purpose of pleasing him, care is taken to impress them with a respect for the aged and for their superiors. For their deference to age they are very remarkable, and a variety of anecdotes are related to illustrate this trait of character. The authority of the parent is not supported by compulsory methods and violent punishments, but by persuasions, and appeals to the pride and ambition of the child. Parents are assisted in maintaining their control over their children, and in instilling into them just senti-

ments, by the whole community, who for this purpose take every occasion to commend the good and censure the bad.

In their mutual intercourse, they treat one another with great civility. Their dealings with one another are carried on with perfect good nature, and seldom lead to quarrelling or complaining. They are cheerful and social in their disposition; patient and resigned to accidents; seldom charging one another with being in fault, although they suffer from another's carelessness; and decide with calmness between an accident and a wilful act.

'I do not believe,' says the author, 'that there exists a people more attentive to paying common civilities to each other than the Indians are; but this, from a want of understanding their language, as well as their customs and manners, generally escapes the notice of travellers, although some of them, better observers than the rest, have touched upon this subject. In more than one hundred instances, I have with astonishment and delight witnessed the attention paid to a person entering the house of another, where in the first instance he is desired to seat himself, with the words, "sit down, my friend," if he is a stranger, or no relation; but if a relation, the proper title is added. A person is never left standing, there are seats for all; and if a dozen should follow each other in succession, all are provided with seats, and the stranger, if a white person, with the best. The tobacco pouch next is handed round; it is the first treat, as with us a glass of wine or brandy. Without a single word passing between the man and his wife, she will go about preparing some victuals for the company, and having served the visiters, will retire to a neighbour's house, to inform the family of the visit with which her husband is honoured, never grumbling on account of their eating up the provisions, even if it were what she had cooked for her own family, considering the friendly visit well worth this small trouble and expense.' pp. 137, 138.

Our author corrects the prevailing impression with respect to the comparative condition of the Indian women. Marriage among them is contracted only during pleasure, and may be terminated at the will of either party. The connexion is not therefore formed with any vows or ceremonies. The duties of the two parties in the married state are distinctly defined. The husband builds the house for them to dwell in, provides the necessary implements of husbandry, and a canoe. The wife brings with her a kettle and other articles of cooking

furniture. The husband feels bound to support the family so far as it depends on the produce of hunting, trapping and fishing, and the wife takes upon herself the labours of the field. The former, besides being the most laborious, is, in their mode of living, much the most important part of duty. The labours of housekeeping and cooking are very trifling; and if the task of the women were confined to these, they would have very little employment. It falls to their share of labour therefore to plant and gather the corn, to collect fuel, and, when they accompany their husbands in hunting or on a journey, to carry a pack, containing materials for their mutual convenience. This labour is cheerfully performed, and they are under no constraint or compulsion. They regard the labours of the husband (as they are in fact) as much more fatiguing and dangerous. The skins and peltry are usually sold or bartered by the wife, who procures in exchange for them necessaries for the family. The produce of the harvest, although gathered by the wife, is considered as belonging to the husband, and he is at liberty to dispose of it at pleasure. Every thing in a family has an individual owner. A horse, cow, dog, or chicken is owned exclusively by the husband, wife, or child, and the master of a family will frequently ask his wife or child for the loan of a horse or dog; so that the author remarks, that 'while the principle of community of goods prevails in the state, the rights of property are acknowledged among the members of a family.'

The Indian loves his wife, and seldom quarrels with her. He is fond of seeing her well dressed, and often makes great sacrifices to gratify her.

'In the year 1762,' says Mr. Heckewelder, 'I was witness to a remarkable instance of the disposition of Indians to indulge their wives. There was a famine in the land, and a sick Indian woman expressed a great desire for a mess of Indian corn. Her husband having heard that a trader at Lower Sandusky had a little, set off on horseback for that place, one hundred miles distant, and returned with as much corn as filled the crown of his hat, for which he gave his horse in exchange, and came home on foot, bringing his saddle back with him.' pp. 148, 149.

'Marriages are proposed and concluded in different ways. The parents on both sides, having observed an attachment between two young persons, negotiate for them. This generally commences from the house where the bridegroom lives, whose

mother is the negotiatrix for him, and begins her duties by taking a good leg of venison, or bear's meat, or something else of the same kind, to the house where the bride dwells, not forgetting to mention, that her son has killed it: in return for this the mother of the bride, if she otherwise approves of the match, which she well understands by the presents to be intended, will prepare a good dish of victuals, the produce of the labour of *woman*, such as beans, Indian corn, or the like, and then taking it to the house where the bridegroom lives, will say, "This is the produce of my daughter's field;" and she also prepared it. If afterwards the mothers of the parties are enabled to tell the good news to each other, that the young people have pronounced that which was sent them *very good*, the bargain is struck.' pp. 150, 151.

'The men who have no parents to negotiate for them, or otherwise choose to manage the matter for themselves, have two simple ways of attaining their object. The first is by stepping up to the woman whom they wish to marry, saying, "If you are willing, I will take you as wife!" When if she answer in the affirmative, she either goes with him immediately, or meets him at an appointed time and place.' p. 151.

The other mode of making the negotiation is thus related in the language of an aged Indian. 'Indian, when he see industrious squaw which he like, he go to *him*, place his two fore-fingers close aside each other, make two look like one—look squaw in the face—see *him* smile—which is all one, *he* say *yes!* so he take *him* home—no danger *he* be cross—no! no! squaw know too well what he do if *he* cross!—throw *him* away and take another. Squaw love to eat meat—no husband no meat.' p. 152.

The author has recorded a variety of amusing remarks, such as the Indians are accustomed to make upon the white people. The following extracts exhibit some specimens of the judgments which they form of their more civilized brethren.

'They will not admit that the whites are superior beings. They say that the hair of their heads, their features, the various colours of their eyes, evince that they are not like themselves, the Lenni Lenape, an *original people*, a race of men that has existed unchanged from the beginning of time; but they are a *mixed* race, and therefore a *troublesome* one; wherever they may be, the Great Spirit, knowing the wickedness of their disposition, found it necessary to give them a great Book,* and taught them how to

* The Bible.

read it, that they might know and observe what he wished them to do and abstain from. But they, the Indians, have no need of any such book to let them know the will of their Maker; they find it engraved on their own hearts; they have had sufficient discernment given to them to distinguish good from evil, and by following that guide, they are sure not to err.' p. 178.

'Among us,' they say, 'only one person speaks at a time, and the others listen to him until he has done; after which, and not before, another begins to speak. They say also that the whites speak too much, and that much talk disgraces a man, and is fit only for women. On this subject they shrewdly observe, that it is well for the whites that they have the art of writing, and can write down their words and speeches; for had they, like themselves, to transmit them to posterity by means of strings and belts of wampum, they would want for their own use all the wampum that could be made, and none would be left for the Indians.

'They wonder that the white people are striving so much to get rich, and to heap up treasures in this world which they cannot carry with them to the next. They ascribe this to pride and to the desire of being called rich and great. They say that there is enough in this world to live upon, without laying any thing by, and as to the next world, it contains plenty of every thing, and they will find all their wants satisfied when they arrive there. They therefore do not lay up any stores, but merely take with them when they die, as much as is necessary for their journey to the world of spirits.' p. 180.

'They think that the white people have learned much of them in the art of war; for when they first began to fight the Indians, they stood all together in a cluster, and suffered themselves to be shot down like turkies.' p. 183.

The Indian commonly makes two meals in a day. The hunter prefers seeking his game on an empty stomach. Hunger stimulates him to exertion, by reminding him of his wants. He therefore resorts to the woods by day-light, and hopes to bring home some game for breakfast. His wife in the mean time pounds the corn, and boils it, or bakes the bread, but if he does not return by ten o'clock, the family make their repast. If he is unsuccessful, he continues his search, and sometimes remains several days without a morsel of food. They are very particular in their choice of meats, and very clean in their cookery. They broil their meat on clean coals, and bake their cakes in clean hot ashes, made if possible from dry oak barks. Their bread is of two kinds. One is

made of green corn, when in the milk, which is pounded or mashed, put in broad corn blades, and baked in the ashes; the other is made of the ripe corn, which is pounded as fine as possible, sifted and kneaded into dough, and made into cakes of about six inches in diameter and an inch in thickness. The Indian corn also furnishes them another kind of food called *Psindamocan* or *Tassmanane*, which is very nourishing and durable.

'They parch the corn in clean hot ashes, until it bursts; it is then sifted and cleaned, and pounded in a mortar into a kind of flour, and when they wish to make it very good they mix some sugar with it. When wanted for use, they take about a table spoonful of this flour in their mouths, then stooping to the river or brook, drink water to it. If however, they have a cup or other small vessel at hand, they put the flour in it and mix it with water, in the proportion of one table spoonful to a pint. At their camps they will put a small quantity in a kettle with water, and let it boil down, and they will have a thick pottage. With this food the traveller and warrior will set out on long journeys and expeditions, and as a little of it will serve them for a day, they have not a heavy load of provisions to carry.' p. 187.

The dress of the Indians was formerly made of skins, furs and feathers. They possess the art of dressing skins of every description, so as to make them soft and pliable. Their feather blankets were wrought by the women, by interweaving with much patience and ingenuity goose and turkey feathers, with twine made of the bark of the wild hemp or nettle. At present their clothing consists principally of blankets and other cloths procured from the whites. They often wear a variety of ornaments, and both men and women sometimes paint themselves profusely, the former in the most fantastical manner. The custom of tattooing is much less prevalent than formerly. That they may have a clean skin to paint upon, they habitually pull out their beards. 'The notion formerly entertained,' says Mr. Heckwelder, 'that the Indians are beardless by nature, and have no hair on their bodies, appears now to be exploded and entirely laid aside. I cannot conceive how it is possible for any person to pass three weeks only among those people, without seeing them pluck out their beards, with tweezers made expressly for that purpose.' This instrument was formerly made of muscle shells, but at present it is commonly made of wire.

They carry it always with them in their tobacco pouch, and whenever at leisure, they pluck out their beards, or the hair above their foreheads. 'This they do in a very quick manner, much like the plucking of a fowl, and the oftener they pluck out their hair, the finer it grows afterwards, so that at last there appears hardly any, the whole having been rooted out.'

We can touch upon but a small part of the great variety of topics which are treated in this work, as illustrating the manners and mode of life of these people. We shall note but one other subject, viz. their mythology. They consider the earth as their universal mother, and believe that they were created within its bosom as the infant is formed in the womb of its natural mother. Some of them believe that they existed in the earth in the human shape, others that they bore the form of the ground-hog, the rabbit, or the tortoise.

'Among the Delawares those of the Minsi, or Wolf tribe, say that in the beginning, they dwelt in the earth under a lake, and were fortunately extricated from this unpleasant abode by the discovery which one of their men made of a hole, through which he ascended to the surface; on which as he was walking, he found a deer, which he carried back with him into his subterraneous habitation; that there the deer was killed, and he and his companions found the meat so good that they unanimously determined to leave their dark abode, and remove to a place where they could enjoy the light of heaven, and have such excellent game in abundance.' p. 242.

As a proof of the extent to which these notions prevailed among the Indians, the author quotes a similar fable derived from the Iroquois, a nation constantly at variance with the Delawares, and 'whose language is so different from theirs, that not two words perhaps, similar or even analogous of signification may be found alike in both.' This account is found in the manuscript notes of Mr. Pyrlæus, who was a missionary among the Iroquois, and was taken in the year 1743, from the mouth of a Mohawk chief named Sqanarady, who resided on the Mohawk river.

'*Traditio.*—That they had dwelt in the earth where it was dark, and where no sun did shine. That though they followed hunting, they ate mice, which they caught with their hands. That Ganawagahha, (one of them) having accidentally found a hole to

get out of the earth at, he went out, and that in walking about on the earth he found a deer, which he took back with him, and that both on account of the meat tasting so very good, and the favourable description he had given them of the country above and on the earth, their mother, concluded it best for them all to come out; that accordingly they did so, and immediately set about planting corn, &c. That, however, the *Nocharauorsul*, that is, the *ground-hog*, would not come out, but had remained in the ground as before.' pp. 243, 244.

We have not room to multiply extracts, though we might, by doing it, add much to the interest of this article. The work abounds in facts and anecdotes, calculated not merely to entertain the reader, but to lay open, in the most authentic and satisfactory manner, the character and condition of this people. There is no other work extant, in which this design has been so extensively adopted, or in which the object is so fully accomplished. There is no work upon the North American Indians, which can bear any comparison with it for the means of correct information possessed by the author, or for the copiousness of its details. The Delaware nation, instead of being one of which we knew the least, is rendered by this work the most fully known to us of any of the nations who once bordered on the Atlantic coast. Though it does not embrace any particular account of the ancient inhabitants of New England, yet it will serve to render more clear and intelligible, the accounts which we have of them. In almost every point of comparison, we find a strong resemblance between the people here described, and those whom our ancestors encountered in the wilderness of New England. We had intended to point out some remarkable coincidences in the customs of the two nations, as confirming the opinion of a common origin and near relation, which we have noticed; but it would extend this article to too great a length. The ingenious and useful labours of the author of this work, and his learned coadjutors, in investigating the Indian languages of our country, will form the subject of a separate article. We can here only express our congratulations to the public, that the work is undertaken with so fair a prospect of valuable results.

ART. XI.—1. *Report of the Corresponding Secretary (Peter S. Duponceau, Esq.) to the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society, of his Progress in the Investigation of the General Character and Forms of the Languages of the American Indians.*

2. *A Correspondence between the Rev. John Heckewelder, of Bethlehem, and Peter S. Duponceau, Esq. Corresponding Secretary of the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society, respecting the Languages of the American Indians.* Philadelphia, 1819.

THIS Correspondence, which consists of about an hundred pages, forms the second part of the Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee, of which Mr. Heckewelder's Indian History constitutes the first part. Deeply interesting as the simple and unaffected narrative of Mr. Heckewelder is to readers of every class, who have any curiosity to take a general view of man in his various situations, we are persuaded, that those persons who wish to study him through the medium of his noblest and peculiar faculty of speech, the present Correspondence will afford a higher gratification than any work of the present day. New views of the Indian dialects, as well as of language in general, are here opened to the philosophical inquirer; and such views (to adopt the strong language of the Historical and Literary Committee) as 'shew how little the world has advanced in that science which is proudly called *Universal Grammar*.' We are here informed of a 'wonderful organization, which distinguishes the languages of the aborigines of this country from *all other idioms* of the known world.'* This single fact (if such it shall prove to be, after a more extensive inquiry into the languages of the Eastern Continent) stamps as high a degree of importance upon the present volume, as belongs to any work ever published in this country, or perhaps in the Old world. For if, as this Committee suppose, the Indian Languages are thus distinguished 'from *all* other idioms of the known world,' the fact will have a most important bearing upon the great and long contested question, whether America was peopled from the Eastern continent or not. Upon this great question, Mr. Duponceau, in the true spirit of a sincere lover of truth, assures us, he has never yet employed his mind. 'I have,' says he,

* Report of the Committee, prefixed to the *Transactions*, p. xiv.

'purposely left it free, that I might pursue my philological inquiries in an abstract point of view, unmixed and unconnected with those more important subjects on which their results, when fully explained, may perhaps ultimately throw light.'*

In order that our readers may be enabled to form some judgment of the great weight due to the opinions and facts now brought forward, we shall state such circumstances, as we have collected from the work itself and from other sources, respecting the two gentlemen whose communications constitute the volume.

In respect to Mr. Heckewelder, the Committee inform us, that 'this venerable missionary has resided more than forty years' among the Indians; and he himself says, with a modesty and caution, which inspire the fullest confidence—'I am not an author by profession; the greatest part of my life was spent among savage nations; and I have now reached the age of seventy five, at which period of life little improvement can be expected. It is not, therefore, as an author that I wish to be judged, but as a *sincere relater of facts* that have fallen within my observation and knowledge. *I declare, that I have said nothing but what I certainly know or verily believe.* In matters of mere opinion, I may be contradicted; but in point of fact, I have been ever scrupulous, and purposely omitted several anecdotes for which I could not sufficiently vouch.'†—Mr. Duponceau (to whom, we have no doubt, the public is principally indebted for the researches now making on this subject) has been long well known as an eminent lawyer; but it is perhaps not so generally known to our readers, that he is probably the first linguist in our country. Though a foreigner by birth, yet so uncommon are his powers in the acquisition of languages, that the necessity of using a foreign one has been no obstacle to his advancement, even at the Bar, where he has long held a place in the very first rank. Indeed, we have been informed, that when he first came to this country (which was in 1778, as Secretary to Baron Steuben) he spoke English extremely well, though he had probably never before been out of France. When, however, we speak of his very uncommon acquirements in this department of knowledge, we would not be understood to represent him as a mere interpreter

* Mr. Duponceau's Report, p. xviii.
† Heckewelder's History, p. 346.

of foreign languages, which any man of a tenacious memory may become; on the contrary, Mr. Duponceau, to the most extensive acquaintance with the different dialects of the globe, unites the most comprehensive knowledge of the principles of language in general; and his *Essay on English Phonology*, published in the Transactions of the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, would alone entitle him to a distinguished rank among the most accomplished philologists of the age.

From the extensive philosophical views of Mr. Duponceau, therefore, and the thorough practical knowledge of Mr. Heckewelder, the learned have now a rare opportunity of knowing accurately the real character of the Indian dialects of this country, and of comparing them with the languages of South America as well as with those of the Eastern Continent. Indeed, so far has Mr. Duponceau already proceeded in his investigation, that in his able Report upon the subject, he ventures to submit to the learned, though 'with the greatest diffidence,' the following propositions, or results, as pretty satisfactorily established:

'1. That the American languages in general are rich in words and in grammatical forms, and that in their complicated construction the greatest order, method and regularity prevail.

'2. That these complicated forms, which I call *polysynthetic*, appear to exist in all those languages from Greenland to Cape Horn. By the term *polysynthetic* Mr. Duponceau here means a highly compounded form of language, or that "in which the greatest number of ideas are comprised in the least number of words." Rep. p. xxx.

'3. That these forms appear to me to differ essentially from those of the ancient and modern languages of the old hemisphere.'

We have no doubt, that our readers will be as much astonished as we were ourselves at the results here stated; and particularly at the fact of these languages being 'rich in words and grammatical forms.' Mr. Duponceau himself is aware of this, and remarks (p. xxvii) that his statement 'will have many prejudices to encounter. It has been said, and will be said again, that "savages having but few ideas, can want but few words, and therefore that their languages must necessarily be poor."'

And what is his answer to this common remark of philosophers, as we are accustomed to call them? Exactly such as

every inquirer after truth would desire: he opposes to this speculative opinion the simple fact, that the languages are thus rich. His words are: 'whether savages have or have not many ideas, it is not my province to determine; all I can say is, that if it is true that their ideas are few, it is not less certain that they have many words to express them. I might even say, that they have an innumerable quantity of words; for, as Colden very justly observes, they have the power and the means of compounding them without end.' Report, p. xxvii. To the testimony of Mr. Duponceau and of Colden, we can add that of Roger Williams, who says in the most emphatic terms, that the language of the Indians 'is exceeding copious, and they have five or six words sometimes for one thing.'* Shall we, then, rely upon the mere opinions of philosophical writers, who are utterly ignorant of the languages whose defects they haye thus proclaimed, or upon the facts stated by gentlemen who have made those languages the subject of long and diligent study? Let us reverse the case, and suppose that an Indian, wholly unacquainted with our language, manners and customs, should undertake to speculate in the same manner respecting us; and on the other hand, that another of his tribe, who had resided among us and become familiar with our language and usages, should contradict the ingenious speculations of his philosophical brother, by opposing to them simple matters of fact; should we hesitate to say which of the two ought to be believed by their listening countrymen? In truth, the world has been long enough amused with theories of man as well as other subjects; and it is time now (as is happily the taste of the age) to study men and things as they are. This great object is kept steadily in view by the ardent, though cautious, inquirer, who is now opening to us these new views of the neglected aborigines of this continent.

We will here make one remark, (which has been suggested by the present publication) by way of encouraging the prosecution of these inquiries. Every body who reads of the Indian languages in our old historians, becomes perplexed and confounded with the numerous distinctions of tribes and dialects, and naturally receives the impression, that those

* Directions for the use of the language; prefixed to his *Key*. These *Directions* were not published with the *Key*, in the Massachusetts Historical Collections.

dialects are so many essentially different languages, and that it would be a fruitless labour to attempt to master them. Just as an untaught spectator, who beholds the endless variety of flowers that adorn the earth, or the innumerable stars that glitter in the heavens, is lost in the irregularity and confusion which seem to pervade the whole; and is appalled at the very thought of attempting to attain to the knowledge of them. But when, under the guidance of his Newton and Linnæus he is enabled to class and systematize the one and the other, the perplexity and confusion are dissipated, order reigns through the chaos, and each object settles into its place in the general arrangement; while the light of science, like the sun, discloses the wonders of the scene in all the beauty and harmony in which they came from the hand of their author.

Now every student in our country, who has felt thus embarrassed in pursuing his inquiries into this part of American history, will be rejoiced to find in the present work a clue to this labyrinth. He will learn, that in the whole of North America there are but three principal mother-tongues, the Keralit, or language of Greenland and the Eskimaux; the Delaware, and the Iroquois; to which, possibly, should be added (according to Mr. Heckewelder) the Floridian or body of dialects spoken on the southern frontier of the United States and in Florida. Of all these, the Delaware, or as it should be denominated, the *Lenni-Lenape* is, according to Mr. Heckewelder, 'the most widely extended language of any that are spoken on this side of the Mississippi. It prevails in the extensive regions of Canada, from the coast of Labrador to the mouth of Albany river which falls into the southernmost part of Hudson's Bay, and from thence to the Lake of the Woods, which forms the northwestern boundary of the United States. It appears to be the language of all the Indians of that extensive country, except those of the Iroquois stock, which are by far the least numerous.'* Of this 'beautiful language,' as Mr. Heckewelder calls it, an excellent grammar was composed by the venerable German missionary Zeisberger; and the translation of it, which has been made

* Heckewelder's History, p. 106. In another place Mr. Heckewelder mentions a French gentleman, who assured him that 'by the help of the Delaware language he had travelled more than a thousand miles among different Indian nations, by all of whom he was understood.' *Correspondence*, p. 366.

by Mr. Duponceau, will, we hope, soon be published. We trust also we shall one day have a translation of Zeisberger's very copious dictionary of the same language, which is mentioned in the present publication. With the knowledge of the Delaware language, the American philologist will be able to examine all the dialects of that part of the continent which is most interesting to us, with as much ease as the scholar, who is acquainted with any one language of the North or South of Europe, can master all the kindred dialects of those parts of the world. To a New England-man, what will be more gratifying than to find, that the immortal work of the venerable Eliot, (his Translation of the Scriptures) and the scanty, though useful Vocabulary of Roger Williams,* are dialects of this wide spread mother-tongue; and that he will now with very little study be enabled to examine those invaluable relics for himself, without being obliged to rely upon the crude opinions of speculative writers. To these works we hope will one day be added the Dictionary of the dialect of the Norridgwock Indians, which was composed by Father Rallé, the French missionary who resided with that tribe in the neighbourhood of the Kennebeck, from 1690 till 1724, the date of Norridgwock Fight, as it was called, in which this celebrated man was killed. This invaluable MS. in Rallé's own hand writing, now belongs to the library of Harvard University; and we trust arrangements will be made without delay for effecting the publication of it. The work will be an important acquisition to the learned; and, as New England-men, we owe it to our country as well as to our literary character, not to be outdone by any of our brethren in contributions to the common stock of the antiquarian and historical knowledge of our country.† Those persons, who take an interest in this subject will perhaps be gratified to learn also, that the language of the Penobscot Indians, now living within our own state, is doubtless (as might indeed be expected) identically the same with that of Father Rallé's Dictionary. We subjoin, in a note, a specimen of the Penob-

* Published in the Massachusetts Historical Collections, vols. 3 and 5.

† An extract from Rallé's Dictionary, containing the Indian *numerals* was published some time ago in the Massachusetts Historical Collection, vol x. p. 137; but from an inadvertence, to which any reader might be liable, who had not carefully examined the handwriting, the letter *u* is printed throughout the extract instead of the letter *n*.

scot dialect (which we obtained from a friend in the District of Maine) with the corresponding terms from Rallé's work. in order to make the comparison the more easy, we have been obliged to alter the French orthography, and make it uniform in both specimens.* And here we will take occasion to remark upon the necessity of establishing, by common consent of the learned, a uniform orthography of these *spoken* languages. A German and a Frenchman and an American will each write the same words in such different ways as to make them appear to be different languages. There is, undoubtedly, an intrinsic difficulty in this subject; but we will venture to submit, very briefly (and with much deference to those who have paid more attention to it than we have) the opinions we have long entertained on this point.

As the grammars and dictionaries of the South and North American dialects have hitherto been composed by *foreigners* (mostly Spanish, German and French missionaries,) and, as we shall be obliged to study many of them through the medium of those works; and, on the other hand, as foreigners will wish to read with the least possible labour, such publications as we may hereafter make upon this subject, it is extremely desirable for the convenience of all nations, that we should adopt an orthography which

* The words are to be pronounced according to the powers of the letters in English:

Penobscot dialect, of the present day.	Norridgwock of about the year 1700.	
arramóos,	arramoos,	a dog.
dose (*or* doas),	na-doos,	a (my) daughter.
daskwumerútchee,	na-daskwanmerétsee,	a (my) little finger.
dabskokuh,	na-dabskookway,	a (my) neck.
keezooz,	kezoos,	the sun.
meetangoos,	na-meetangoos,	a (my) father.
mutchéenee,	na-metseenay,	to die; I die.
neepeet,	neepeet,	my tooth.
nurréstee,	na-retsee,	my hand.
neekee,	neekkee,	yes.
oráweenee,	ooreeweenee,	I thank you.
sahkwok,	ntsehkwahkoo,	a knife.
paysuk,	pázekoo,	one.
nees,	nees,	two.
nase (*or* nais),	nass,	three.
nekkweetáns,	nekoodans,	six.
támpoowans,	tanbawans,	seven.
sánsuk,	ntsansek,	eight.
m'tarreh,	mtarrah,	ten.

shall be most conformable to the languages of the European nations in general. For this purpose we ought, as the foundation of the system, to give the *vowels* those sounds which they generally have among those nations; thus *a* should be sounded as in *father*, *e* as in *there*, *i* as in *machine*, *o* as in *note*, *u* as in *rule*, and *y* as in *you*. Of the *consonants*, *c*, *q*, and *x* may be dispensed with, as their various powers may be represented by *k*, *s*, and *ks*, without danger of being mistaken by readers of any nation; and the rest of the single consonants may be employed to represent their usual sounds; the Germans only agreeing to give up their peculiar modification of the *b*, *d*, *p*, *t* and *w;* the French and English, the soft sound of *g* (that which it has before *e* and *i*, and for which we might substitute *dg*, if found necessary) and the Italians, with the Germans also relinquishing their sound of *j*, for which we might use *y*, a letter known to both those nations. The *guttural* sounds, as we call them, might be expressed, by *gh* for the heavy or *flat* guttural, and *kh* for the *sharp* one; the Germans now express this letter by *ch*, but as this would be ambiguous to French and English (and some other) readers, we should prefer *kh*, which Sir William Jones proposed in writing Oriental words that had this sound in them. Some persons have thought of using the Spanish *x* for this sound; but as that would also be ambiguous to the rest of the European nations, we should still prefer *kh*. Our *sh* might be adopted to express the sound of the French *ch* and German *sch;* and for the sound of our *ch* (in *much*) we might use *tsh;* which latter, as well as *kh* and *sh*, being combinations not used in the European languages would, when once learnt, be always definite and prevent a reader of any nation from being misled.

But we perceive we are exceeding the limits we had allotted for this article; we cannot however conclude our remarks without recommending to our readers in the strongest terms, not only the Correspondence, but the whole of the volume now presented to the public. We are aware, that to some persons the favourable picture which Mr. Heckewelder has drawn of the Indian character will have the appearance of exaggeration, and he will be suspected of partiality. The work certainly does make us feel more kindly towards that unfortunate race whom we ourselves have helped to corrupt and degrade. But is it Mr. Heckewelder alone who holds

this language respecting them? We think not; according to our general recollection, the early writers of New England agree substantially with him in some of the most interesting points of their character. Roger Williams says, with much feeling—'I have acknowledged amongst them an heart sensible of kindnesses, and have reaped kindnesse again from many, seaven yeares after, when I myself had forgotten,' &c. Again—'many a time and at all times of the night (as I have fallen in travell upon their houses) when nothing has been ready, have themselves and their wives risen to prepare me some refreshing.'—'It is a strange *truth*, that a man shall generally finde more free entertainment and refreshing amongst these *Barbarians*, than amongst thousands that call themselves *Christians*.'* Faults and vices they undoubtedly have, like their fellow mortals, who enjoy the advantages of civilization; but we are persuaded, that every man who reads Mr. Heckewelder's work with the same candour with which it is written, will be surprised to perceive how much their blemishes of character have been exaggerated, and how little we have known of their virtues.

* Williams' Key, pp. 7, 16.

MISCELLANEOUS JOURNAL.

SCHOOL EDUCATION.

The subject of Education has, for some time past, occupied no inconsiderable share of the public attention in the United States; and the elements of a good education are, perhaps, sufficiently well understood in theory by many persons among us, who have read and reflected upon it with that just discrimination, which a subject of this nature demands. But the practical method of conferring such an education, or, in other words, the *art of education*, if we may judge from the different effects produced in Europe and in this country, is yet in a very imperfect state among us. Those intelligent Americans, who have travelled in Europe, all concur in the opinion, that there is a wide difference between a well-educated *European* and what we are accustomed to consider as a well-educated gentleman in the United States. Now, after making all due allowance for the greater length of time employed in an European education, much of this difference still remains to be accounted for in some other way; and how is it to be accounted for? I have long believed, that it is in a great measure owing to our not being thoroughly skilled in what may properly be called the *art of education*. I do not stop here, to inquire into the causes of this state of things. How much of it may be the consequence of our Revolution—how much, the effect of local circumstances—or how much, the result of unsettled opinions in the different parts of our country as to the relative importance of science and of classical learning, need not at present be examined. It is sufficient for my purpose to assume it as a fact (which, indeed, is admitted by the very apologies we are accustomed to make for it) and proceed to inquire into the means of remedying this radical imperfection in our modes of education.

Here, perhaps, it may be said—If we are not yet in possession of the best practical methods of instruction employed in Europe, we can, surely, by diligent inquiry learn them, and then proceed to apply them ourselves. We may, undoubtedly,

by careful and minute inquiries, acquaint ourselves with those methods, as we do in the case of other arts; but yet the practical skill to apply them with effect, seems to be still wanting. The truth is, (and all our liberal and well-informed teachers candidly acknowledge it,) that we have not had a degree of *experience* in education to be at all compared with that of our European brethren; for they have been constantly engaged for centuries, and under circumstances vastly more favourable than ourselves, in perfecting the art of education. What course then, it may be asked, ought we to pursue in this country? I have no hesitation in saying, that the people of America must do as other nations have done; as in ancient times the Romans did, when they sent to Greece for their instructers; and, as at the present day the less learned nations of Europe do, when they hold out inducements to able professors from their more learned neigbours to come and reside among them. Nor let it be thought, as some superficial reasoners have persuaded themselves, that this would derogate at all from the dignity of our national character; for surely we need feel no repugnance in yielding to any thing, to which the brave and proud Romans thought it no disgrace to submit. Cicero and Cæsar both studied under Greek masters,* and shall our independence of spirit and love of country take alarm at what they felt to be no stain upon their characters? We are accustomed to believe, and are pleased with the belief, that our European brethren, in some other instances, think it no disgrace to borrow from us our native artists and our arts; why then should we feel any repugnance to being under the like obligations to them in the art of education? Until we shall be willing to do this (to a certain extent at least) it is much to be feared, that our children will not derive all those advantages from education which it is our duty to afford them. On this point I shall take the liberty of laying before the reader, in support of my opinion, the remarks of a learned friend, who has thoroughly examined the best European systems of education, and whose authority if I were at liberty to name him, would need no aid to give this opinion its due weight. He had been requested to furnish a particular account of the course of studies pursued in the schools of France, which he obligingly complied with; but, after giving as satisfactory a detail as was practicable, he subjoins the fol-

* Cic. Brut. cap. 89. and Plutarch in Vita Cæsar, cap. 3.

lowing reflections, which cannot be too strongly recommended to the attention of all.

'Allow me to close this letter, my dear Sir, with expressing the gratification I feel, at finding you interested in the subject of *school education*, the part of our system which requires the first reform. Well aware, as I was, that our schools were defective, I knew not how defective they were, till I had seen the good ones in Europe. Though the schools of Paris are the least good of those I have seen, even they show in glaring colours our deficiency. But I fear the most accurate description of foreign schools, and details the most minute of the modes of proceeding, will lead to little else than a knowledge of our deficiency, without essentially contributing to supply it. If a bit of cloth or a hat is to be manufactured in America, the most exact description of the manipulations of the English fabrics are inadequate. *Workmen must be, and are imported, who have been brought up to the work.* I have not yet found in history an example of any other method of propagating learning. In the very infancy of our colony, the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures were translated into each other at morning and evening prayers at Cambridge.—It was done then by the emigrant English scholars, who filled the places of instruction in the infant College; and, as this importation ceased before the occasions of our state of society furnished the necessity, and the encouragement necessary to finished scholarship, learning *died out* among us—it was fairly *düsgestorben* [gone out] if I may borrow that expressive word; and, to own the truth, is not yet revivified with us; *nor will it ever be, till brought over again from Europe.* No man can teach that which he has never learned; and no man can acquire himself that which is only to be gotten by external instruction, imparted according to methods formed and perfected by centuries of learned tradition.'

Such I believe to be the sentiments of every parent among us, who is solicitous that his sons should have a *finished education*,—an education, which shall reflect honour upon our national character in the persons of our young gentlemen who travel, and which shall enable those gentlemen to feel at their ease, when in the company of the most polite and learned circles of Europe. We are too apt, in this country, to consider

ourselves as an insulated people—as not belonging to the great *community of Europe;* but we are, in truth, just as much members of it, by means of a common public law, commercial intercourse, literature, a kindred language and habits, as Englishmen or Frenchmen themselves are; and we must procure for ourselves the qualifications necessary to maintain that rank which we shall claim as equal members of such a community. Of these, a finished education, conducted agreeably to the established usage of that community is, perhaps, the very first in importance: and this is to be obtained most effectually by the method above pointed out. But until the period arrives when we shall have among us the 'workmen themselves who have been brought up to the work' of education, it will be of some service to make ourselves acquainted, as far as possible, with the methods which the 'workmen' of Europe have adopted; and, with this view, I have thought it might be of some service to our countrymen to lay before them the following Translation of an admirable article on this subject from the pen of Wyttenbach, the well known professor in the University of Leyden. This distinguished man is already well known amongst us, as an eminent scholar; but, perhaps, it is not so generally known (as my friend, above quoted, informs me is the fact) that he is considered by the English 'as the best Continental scholar' of Europe. The article in question constitutes the Preface to the Ἐκλογαὶ Ἱστόρικαι, or *Selecta Principum Historicorum*, published by Wyttenbach, for the use of his pupils;* and though it cannot add to the authority of Wyttenbach's name, to quote the opinion of any man in praise of the article, yet it may be gratifying to know in what strong terms it is spoken of by a scholar of some celebrity in another nation, who has himself been a practical instructer (in the classics) of young men intended for schoolmasters; I mean the French scholar, Mons. Gail, first keeper of the MSS of the King's Library in Paris, who says this Preface of Wyttenbach's is a work '*which no instructer ought to omit reading.*†

* I have used the *second* edition of this work, printed at Amsterdam, in 1808.

† Gail's *Cours Grec*, p. ii. of the Advertisement.

Preface to the Selecta Principum Historicorum, published by WYTTENBACH.

[Translation.]

It may perhaps be a subject of surprise with some persons, that I should publish a work like the present, which is intended for the instruction of youth, rather than for the use of the learned; but when my motives are duly considered, the design cannot but be approved, and the wonder will then be, that I had not given it to the public before this time.

Twenty-two years ago, I began to give instruction in Greek literature, and ever since that time I have, to the utmost of my power, devoted myself to this part of education; being deeply sensible of the importance of a study, the object of which is to make us intimately acquainted with a people pre-eminent in genius, and by whom all liberal acquirements and subjects of human knowledge have been cultivated and transmitted to us; for without such an acquaintance with this people, neither our studies of the works of Roman authors, nor in short any part of a course of *liberal education* can be advantageously pursued.

In Greek literature (as in the literature of other nations) we commonly make four divisions or parts; which are, *History*, *Antiquities*, the *Enumeration and Review* of authors, and *Grammar*. The first three of these I have taught, either in connexion with the usual studies of my school, or separately; but the fourth branch I am constantly engaged in; because by that alone can we open the way to the other three, as well as to a thorough acquaintance with the language itself, and with the genius of the nation. In this course of study my annual duties are so arranged, that I begin with one of the best prose writers, then add Homer, and at the close finish either with a tragic or a comic author, or with pastoral or other poetry. And, as by the ordinances of our ancestors, it is the duty of professors of the Greek language to explain the Greek Testament, I make it my duty, from time to time, to go through a grammatical examination of some chapters of it, in order to explain the meaning of the writers, and to show in what respects their language differs from the Greek standard.

The remarks, which I have here made on these particular authors, may be applied to others; for with the others, both

Greek and Latin, my plan is, not to go through their entire works and flood the mind of the pupil with all the learning connected with them, but to exercise him in the most important of their writings, and thus dicipline him to such a familiarity with them, as will enable him to read any of their other works himself.

At first I was able to supply myself with books for the use of my pupils: but at length, in consequence of their increase in numbers and their diversity of character, I found there was a want of prose authors, particularly in History, a branch of study which captivates readers of every taste; and this scarcity was my reason for publishing the present volume.

In making a selection of this kind, I am not without apprehensions, that some persons may think it strange that I should ascribe so much importance to the *prose* writers; for, generally, the teachers of Greek make but little use of them. On this point, however, my opinion has always been, that we ought to be conversant with prose as well as poetry in our youth; for, as on the one hand, they who read the prose authors alone, cannot fully relish all the beauties which those writers borrow from the poets, and indeed are cold and insensible to the native and inherent charms of prose itself; so, on the other hand, those persons, who give themselves up to the poets, are so habituated to measured language, that they can tolerate nothing but the chime of verse, and they would die of weariness under the most exquisite Attic beauties of a dialogue of Plato, or the inimitable graces of a comedy of Aristophanes; and still more insensible would they be to the ingenuity and acuteness of the philosophers and orators. I have often remarked, also, that it is a much greater labour to revive our relish for prose than for poetry; and, that a man who is a *prose student* (if I may use that expression) will become acquainted with the poets more easily than a mere *student of poetry* can attain to a thorough knowledge of the prose writers. But, unquestionably, both these kinds of authors ought to be studied with equal care. They, who study the poets only, resemble him, who, captivated with the enjoyments of the fountain, reposes himself by it without regarding the fertility of the surrounding fields and the luxuriance of the fruits which are the products of its expanding waters; while they, who content themselves with the study of prose, are like him, who is satisfied with the fruits of the fertilizing

streams, but has no zeal to explore the fountain, which would enable him to give freshness to his domains and increase their products.

As neither kind of authors, then, is to be omitted, it will as usual be asked, with which we ought to begin. Some decide for Homer; but others prefer an easy prose writer. Both are partly in the right and partly in the wrong; they are in the right, if they mean, that we ought to begin a course of *education* with a prose writer, and a course of *reading* with Homer; but they are wrong, if they make no distinction between our beginning to learn a language, and *reading or studying the authors* who have written in it. Undoubtedly in reading those authors, and acquiring that knowledge of antiquity which is to be derived from the study of them, the best method is to follow the order of the different periods in which they wrote, proceeding from the most ancient to the later authors: and with this view we ought to begin with Homer, from whom as the fountain all the rest have flowed. But such a kind of reading as this can only be accomplished by an experienced scholar, who can bring to the task a competent knowledge of the language, which he must be supposed to have already acquired. As to the argument so much relied upon, that poetry is more ancient than prose, and that the ancients themselves used to make their children begin with Homer and the other poets, there is a great fallacy in it, which is overlooked by those who resort to it. That poetry is more ancient than prose, is true as to the *language* of *writing*, but not as to that of *speaking*; unless, indeed, there should be any persons who imagine, that Agamemnon, Achilles and the other heroes of Homer discoursed in the verses which the poet has put into their mouths. And as to the practice of the ancient grammarians or instructers, who used to begin with Homer, this might answer with the youth of Greece and Rome; for they learned the language of prose by daily intercourse with society.

But, perhaps, it may be asked, why I have in this Selection passed by the philosophers, orators, rhetoricians and all the other writers except the *historians*. My answer is, that I do not omit those writers in my course of study; but I was in immediate want of a selection from the historians. I had, indeed, originally intended to divide this work into four parts; the first to consist of selections from the historians;

the second, from the orators; the third, from the philosophers and rhetoricians; and the fourth, from the tragic and comic writers. And in the first part, some of my pupils, with a laudable zeal for learning, had given me their aid by transcribing, for the use of the printer, passages from works already published. But although this saved me much labour, yet the revising, correcting, and enlarging of their work, and adding to it such annotations as the bookseller desired for the purpose of rendering it more acceptable to the purchaser, and, afterwards the digesting and arranging of the whole and the correcting of the proof sheets, took up so much of my time, that I resolved to content myself with what I have accomplished in this first part; leaving to others, the care of publishing the remaining parts; which, indeed, I have thought might possibly be done by some of my pupils; and if this should ever be undertaken by any of them who may be qualified to do it, I shall take pleasure in assisting them, at least with my advice, if I should not be able to aid them with my personal services. So far am I, therefore, from passing over the study of other writers in my course of instruction, that to the more advanced scholar I should by all means recommend them. For who can entertain a doubt, that in the writers of those classes are to be found abundant materials and occasions for moulding and giving the right direction to the minds of the young? What, for example, can be more advantageous than the study of the orators, to store their minds with a sound knowledge of the principles of civil polity? Or what more efficacious in training them to speaking in public with the greatest effect? What can be more exquisite than the orations of Lysias; what more finished than Isocrates; or what more perfect in every thing than Demosthenes? Among the philosophers, also, there are two who are worth all others, Xenophon and Plato; than whose copiousness and suavity nothing can be imagined more efficacious in promoting the acquisition of the most valuable knowledge, or more completely adapted to attaining the art of discussing any subject? To these I may add, in the third place, Lucian, whose writings abound with Attic grace and Socratic irony; and what writer is entitled to precedence of him, in teaching us the faults to which men are liable, and the means of avoiding them? Further, (not to omit the rhetoricians) as to forming a judgment of the beautiful, and the art of criticism

and the estimating of authors, as well as for the principles of unadulterated eloquence, what illustrious guides have we in Aristotle, Hermogenes, Theon, the incomparable Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and the truly divine Longinus?

The different effect produced by the works of these various authors I have often witnessed in my school. Some boys were extravagantly fond of the orators, and were cold and insensible to the excellencies of other writers; but others were wonderfully delighted with Socratic discussions, and discovered a total indifference to works of every other sort; and the same diversity of feeling manifested itself in respect to other classes of authors both in prose and poetry. Indeed, all boys are not alike qualified by their talents or if by talents, they are not by age, to enjoy all the different kinds of writing; but they differ in their susceptibility, as well as in their advancement in learning; and those who are just initiated, cannot have the same enjoyments in literary pursuits as those who have made greater progress; besides which, they have by nature different tastes, so that one is affected by one kind of writing, and another by a different one. But this, though true in general, is not the case with *history;* for that pleases boys of every age and in every stage of their studies; it is intelligible to all, and all find charms in it.

History, however, admits of diversity in its matter; and it will accordingly be found that the present collection contains examples of the other kinds of writing, It has the gravity, the force, and the argumentative quality of orations; it has the gracefulness and the probability of dialogue; the methods of arguing, and discussing subjects, and the examination of topics connected with other parts of knowledge both of human and divine things; all which, indeed, may be summed up in the peculiar characteristics of history, which are, perspicuity and ease in relating events, and fidelity in exhibiting the actions of every description of men, either as a warning or as an example to others.

But, after all, I may perhaps be asked, even admitting that a collection of this kind was wanting, why I have thought only five of the Greek historians to be worthy of a place in it? *Worthy* indeed they all are; but I was obliged to omit the others, in consequence of the plan upon which I had formed my work; I might have made selections out of all

the historians, from Herodotus down to Procopius, or even to the latest of the Byzantine writers; so that the reader would have been enabled to obtain a knowledge of the gradual decline of eloquence. This, unquestionably, would be a most useful kind of knowledge; but it belongs rather to men than to boys; for their fresh and undisciplined powers of mind cannot all at once be confined to such exactness of discrimination; and, besides, they ought to derive their nutriment from the choicest sources; while the less pure aliment of their faculties should be withheld from them, lest a tinge should be communicated that could never be removed. Still, however, it may be urged, that I might at least have selected some parts of Theopompus, Timœus, and others of that age, or at all events from Dionysius of Halicarnassus. But in these writers, we do not find the most striking passages; or if there are some such, they have not that pure and native colouring and character which are so conspicuous in Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon; from whom, as classic and standard authors, I have made large extracts. I have taken some passages from Polybius also; for he is ranked among the classic writers, and if in point of style, he is not entitled to that rank, he is eminently so for his matter, and his high authority as an historian. I have also taken some passages from Plutarch; because all agree, that it is of singular advantage to boys to be early acquainted with the writings of that author, on account of their peculiar utility in imparting useful instruction; they however, have difficulties both in the style and matter, which render some assistance highly necessary to the pupil. But I will now examine these writers in their order.

The first of them is Herodotus, who is justly styled the *Father of History*, because he is the first who wrote general history, and the first who adorned it with the graces of eloquence. To him, indeed, is applicable in its full force the praise which is given to Nestor in Homer—

Τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή

——————— in persuasion skill'd
Words, sweet as honey, from his lips distill'd.*

So delightful and so engaging is he in his narrative, and such perfect simplicity is there in his manner, that we

* Pope's Translation, Iliad i, 331.

fancy we see before our eyes a venerable old man just returned from his travels through distant countries, and sitting down in his arm chair, relating without restraint all that he had seen and heard; not omitting even some wonderful things to which he gave no credit himself. His style seems to have been formed purely by his native good taste and by practice, rather than by the rules of art; for at that period the writing of prose was not very common. It was first cultivated in Ionia by the philosophers, but very slowly; then by the historians Hecatæus, Hellanicus, Charon of Lampsacus, and Xanthus of Lydia. But the lustre of these writers was overpowered by the superior brilliancy of Herodotus; just as Homer's divine genius overwhelmed the mediocrity of all the preceding poets. And, indeed, in many respects Herodotus himself is truly Homeric—Ὁμηρικώτατος—this is peculiarly observable in the plan and distribution of his work (which bears a resemblance to an epic poem) and in the use of the Ionic dialect both in words and idiom; but above all in that inimitable simplicity of ancient times, and that evenness of colouring, which are diffused through every part of his subject and his language. From this resemblance, therefore, it may well be doubted whether the study of Homer is the more useful for thoroughly understanding Herodotus, or that of Herodotus for understanding Homer; however that may be, it is certain, that the study of the two may be united with great advantage to the pupil.

Next to Herodotus is Thucydides; a writer also of the very first rank, but excelling in a different way. He has taken a less extensive subject; confining himself to the affairs of Greece alone, and chiefly to the events of the Peloponnesian war; and of that, he does not relate all that he saw or heard, but only those things which were worthy of being recorded, and which he ascertained to be true after examination of the evidence upon which they rested. He rarely makes a digression from his main subject, and never, unless it is indispensable to the understanding of the narrative. The same conciseness is observable in his language, both in single words (which are so many sentences) and in his entire periods; in which, indeed, ideas are condensed rather than unfolded and displayed, and are sometimes obscured rather than elucidated. But with all this compression of style and matter, what wonderful grandeur and sublimity of thought

does he possess! What weight in his opinions! How just an estimate does he always make of virtue and vice! How skilfully does he investigate and display events and their causes, and the principles of military and civil polity! With what sagacity does he unfold the human heart, and explore its inmost recesses! In fine, what a master of narrative is he, when he can seize the attention of his reader, carry him into the midst of the scenes described, and make him hear the din of arms, and witness the havoc and slaughter, and partake of the agitation of the warriors who are engaged in the contest! In truth, as respects the *art of writing*, his works come to us under very different circumstances from those of Herodotus; for Thucydides not only had his master Antiphon to instruct him in composition, but Anaxagoras likewise to teach the art of thinking. In addition to the direct authority of Marcellinus on this point, we may believe this to have been the case with Thucydides, because it was with Pericles; for the latter infused into his public orations all those treasures of knowledge, human and divine, which he had derived from Anaxagoras; and, in my opinion, Thucydides seems to have closely copied Pericles, in order, as none of the writings of the latter are extant, that posterity might in this history be possessed of the very form of the eloquence of that great man. After the pupil is, by a previous acquaintance with the works of Herodotus and Xenophon, prepared to enter upon Thucydides and make himself master of his style, he may proceed with advantage to any other writers, whether of prose or poetry.

The third author in this Selection, and of the same rank, is Xenophon; who has tempered that severity of style which Thucydides adopted, and has made the sweetness, perspicuity and simplicity of Herodotus his model. Xenophon, too, had the advantage of instruction in his youth under the most celebrated masters of eloquence and philosophy; in the former, Prodicus, and in the latter, Socrates; whose elegant and popular mode of reasoning, so admirably adapted to all the purposes of life, he has preserved in particular treatises (of which I need not speak in this place) and has also infused into his larger historical works. Those larger works are three in number. His Cyropædia, or Institution of Cyrus the elder, which he did not write as authentic history, but as a medium for conveying to us the sound precepts of Socrates for the

education of a good king. His Anabasis, which is an authentic history, containing the expedition of Cyrus the younger; of which expedition Xenophon, from being at first merely an attendant, was afterwards made the commander; in which situation, applying his Socratic instruction to practical use, he delivered his companions from impending destruction; and, conducting them through the midst of the enemy, and through tracts of country almost impassable, brought them back in safety to their country. No work more abounds with examples both of speaking and acting, adapted to all the circumstances of a civil as well as a military life. And, as Xenophon, in the rest of his works, excels other writers in natural endowments, in the soundness of his precepts, and the natural ease of his style, so in the Anabasis he appears to have surpassed himself. I have therefore made the largest extracts from this part of his works. The remaining work of his, which I have made use of, is the *Hellenica*, or the History of the Affairs of Greece from the termination of the history of Thucydides to the battle of Mantinea—an admirable work, truly Xenophontean, and the only work of that age upon the subject; it is, however, in my opinion, inferior to the other two, both in the plan and execution; for, after the perusal of those works, who can so far repress his feelings, as not to expect something wholly unexampled, nay more than human, in this work, where all Greece is the scene of action, and that, too, at a period abundant in great men and great events? And who will not in this work, eagerly seek for, and expect to find, the most splendid narratives of those illustrious deeds which he has read of in his youth, either in Nepos or some other writer who has derived every thing from Xenophon, as the fountain. Most of these events, however, are slightly and sparingly touched; such as the affairs of Alcibiades, Conon, Iphicrates, Timotheus, Epaminondas, Pelopidas, the battle of Leuctra, and other events. As to the narrative itself, there is, in the other two works, copiousness and energy; but this is in a degree meagre and feeble, except perhaps where he speaks of Agesilaus and the Spartans; we also feel the want of such eulogies of Cyrus and other commanders, as we find in the Anabasis. For these reasons, I have sometimes entertained the opinion, that in this work, Xenophon either had only collected materials for a history which he was to write at some future day in a more

elaborate manner, or that, without having any fondness for this work, he only contemplated making a continuation of Thucydides. I cannot accede to the opinion, that this difference in the works is to be accounted for on the ground, that the Spartans were favourites with him above all the other people of Greece. Be this as it may, he did not by this deter others from writing; for several of that age (or about that time) did the same; as, for example, Theopompus, who wrote with elegance upon the first part of that period, and Callisthenes, who wrote on the latter part of it, in a work which also had the title of Hellenica; both of which authors' works were comprised in the general histories of Greece, by Ephorus and Anaximenes.

But these authors, although they had merit, never attained to the perfection of Xenophon's style; which indeed in the Hellenica, and still more in his other works, has a healthy soundness, an ease, simplicity and grace, which give it the preference above all others for the introductory studies of boys; whose fresh and youthful minds will there imbibe nothing but the wholesome aliment of the purest of fountains.

These three authors, of whom I have now spoken, flourished so nearly together, that each one of them, if he attained to old age, might have lived to see his successor just commencing his career. For, from the birth of Herodotus (who comes within the LXXIVth Olympiad, or 484 years before the Christian era) to the death of Xenophon, there was a space of 124 years. In their age historical writing is thought to have possessed all the vigour, purity and elegance, which belong to that species of composition; but this praise is due rather to a few men of genius and of a particular school, than to the writers of that period in general. For, to take one instance, Philistus and Ctesias were both contemporaries of Xenophon, but they never could entitle themselves to an equal degree of celebrity. Again, from the age of Xenophon to that of Polybius, there was a period of about two hundred years; during which, it is wonderful to observe how many eminent historians there were, who, in extent of knowledge and variety of learning were not inferior to this Triumvirate, though in purity of composition they kept degenerating from that standard; for most of them were disciplined in the schools of the Rhetoricians, and came before the publick decked out with the showy subtilties and trappings of art, but destitute of the

strength and healthy soundness of nature; and, as commonly happens, they had more imitators of their defects than of their excellencies. Still, however, in the Macedonic age, under Alexander and his successors, if the *manner* of writing history was changed for the worse, yet in respect to *matter*, it was diligently cultivated and extended. For it was no longer confined to its old limits of the exploits of nations and their sovereigns, but was enlarged so as to comprise the origin and progress of the arts and sciences, and was thus made to embrace the lives of individuals, who had acquired eminence in those pursuits. This opened a new and extensive region, and brought into view people and countries which were before unknown. In addition to this, the grammarians, or critics, laboured upon and explained the auxiliary arts which are the instruments of promoting our knowledge of History, and in short of all other knowledge;—I mean Geography, Chronology and Antiquities; and above all, Criticism, which not only opens to our view the various monuments of antiquity, but teaches us how to determine what degree of faith is due to them and the weight of their authority. At this time arose an innumerable multitude of writers in every branch of learning, and among them consequently historians of eminence. Of these, (to name only a few of the principal ones) some came forth from the sound, and as yet incorrupt discipline of the schools of rhetoric; such were Ephorus, Theopompus and Timæus; others were from the schools of philosophy, of whom were Aristotle (the first of them all in genius and learning) and almost every one of that band of Peripatetics, which followed him, as Theophrastus, Callisthenes, Dicæarchus, Aristoxenus, Phanias and Agatharchides; others, again, belonged to the school of the grammarians, as Callimachus, Eratosthenes, Apollodorus; while still another class came from the hardships of warfare and the camp; such were, Alexander's companions, Ptolemæus, Aristobulus and Hecatæus, whose historical writings, like those of all the others, have been destroyed by time.

The *fourth* author in my Selection is Polybius, who flourished two hundred years after the Triumvirate I have mentioned, and may truly be called the *last of the Greeks;* for he was born and brought up in a free country, and took a part in defending and governing it; and, besides, when he had survived the liberties of his country, he yet preserved the true

spirit of civil liberty ; that spirit, which of itself alone, when accompanied with a knowledge of facts, will enable its possessor to discharge the duties of an historian, even though unskilled in composition ; while without such a spirit, eloquence itself is but an empty name. The mind of Polybius was of this class. He too was instructed in philosophy ; but not in the philosophy of Socrates, which was the handmaid of eloquence, nor in that of the Academy, nor of the Peripatetics, but in that of the Stoics, so barren of whatever conduces to an ornamented diction. Nor had he been disciplined in the schools of the Rhetoricians, nor did he from inclination train himself to the imitation of the ancient historians, or govern himself by the precepts of the grammarians ; but being introduced while a youth, to the management of publick concerns, and being constantly engaged in civil and military affairs, he chooses his words from the language of common life ; his style, therefore, though always perspicuous, is deficient in elegance. To this should also be added a degree of scholastic loquacity and repetition of the same topics in his eulogies, as well as in calling the attention of his readers to a consideration of the causes of what he relates. Notwithstanding all this, however, he was diligently studied by those who came after him, and even his phraseology was often used ; from which fact we may infer, how highly esteemed he was for his knowledge, which was so pre-eminent that it not only compensated for the plainness of his style, but even led others to imitate him. And, in truth, with the exception of style, there is no historical excellence that is not to be found in Polybius ; the most determined zeal to investigate and publish the truth ; a discriminating judgment (which was improved by experience in the world as well as by study) in separating what was true from what was false ; the greatest sagacity in unfolding the progress of events, and tracing them to their causes, whether those causes were to be sought for in the particular character of individuals, or in the form of government of any state, or in the general relations of the different states of the known world, or in their military dicipline, or in the climate, situation and products of different regions, or in the different characters of men, as they are influenced by different situations, nnmbers, powers of mind and physical strength. On all these subjects he is to be read not merely as a careful relater of events, but as an authority of the first rank. Ac-

cordingly, whatever characters, places or events are mentioned by him, he seems to have as thorough a knowledge of them as if they had come within his personal observation; and with human nature in general he seems to have had so intimate an acquaintance, that nothing which belongs to man has escaped him. He thus accomplished what he had proposed to himself; —to make History the directress of life, the herald of truth and the safest interpreter of futurity. Who can doubt, therefore, that young persons ought to have some little acquaintance with so eminent an historian, both for the purpose of knowing his merits and to prevent their condemning other authors as worthless merely from their plainness of style.

From Polybius to Plutarch there was likewise a space of about two hundred years; and that age no less than the preceding was fertile in Historians of the same class. In that period, Roman literature also sprang up, and within the same space arrived at maturity and began to decline. But my present object is the literature of the Greeks. Among them, many men, distinguished by their erudition and acquirements in grammar and philosophy, became historians, and were more studious of communicating the knowledge of events, than of polishing their style; but yet were not quite so negligent as Polybius in this respect. It was the taste of this age, and of the subsequent periods, down to the extinction of literature and philosophy under the Emperor Justinian, to bestow all their labour upon augmenting the stores of knowledge rather than upon the preservation of purity in composition. Among the historians of this period (from Polybius to Plutarch) whose works are lost, every body will recollect the names of Alexander Polyhistor, Nicolaus Damascenus, Juba, Athenodorus and Apion, who are frequently praised by the writers that succeeded them. Of those whose works are fortunately preserved, we must place in the first class, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo and Plutarch; all eminent for their knowledge, and each possessing his peculiar excellencies of style; and one of them, indeed, I mean Dionysius, rather entitled to a rank even among the ancients than merely among the writers of his time.

The last author, therefore, whom I have taken into view in making this Selection, is Plutarch. He was born in Greece, in the first century, and flourished about the middle of it, under Trajan, when the State had recovered a little from the

gloom of the preceding period. But in whatever state and under whatever reign he was born, nature had endowed him with such decision of character, that his mind elevated itself to the lofty height of the ancient Greeks. The genuine Grecian spirit, therefore, breathes forth in his works; where we find those excellencies which are the characteristics of the *ancient* writers; sound judgment, a proper sense of what is right and decorous in our deportment in life, liberality of feeling, affection for our fellow-citizens, benevolence towards all men, and unwearied zeal in deserving well of men, by enlightening their minds, forming their habits, commending their virtues, correcting their vices, and exterminating error of every form. His mind was richly stored with knowledge; with the philosophy of the Platonic school,—(whose disciple he professed to be) as well as of the others, from all of which he imbibed what was most valuable;—and with literature of every kind and a knowledge of the arts; all of which he had acquired by unremitting study. When, therefore, he treats of the two different topics of Philosophy and History, (for his *Lives* are properly ranked in the class of history) it is difficult to decide, wether he has done more in confirming History by Philosophy, or in illustrating Philosophy by History, or in enlivening both of them by general Literature. This, however, I may with truth affirm, that all that excellence which results from this triple union—an excellence, of which we can form a higher idea in imagination, than we have ever found in reality—that excellence, I say, is found in a greater degree in Plutarch, than in any one ancient writer; and in him it would have fallen nothing short of perfection itself, if to his consummate knowledge of things, he had united a corresponding perspicuity and elegance of style. But that want of perspicuity, and that obscurity, which result from the very nature of facts, that are not independent, but have relation to certain others, are not so much the fault of the author as of his reader; it is therefore necessary, that the proper method of studying Plutarch should be early explained to young persons; and then their capacity for understanding him, being strengthened by use and practice, will find enough of perspicuity and elegance to satisfy them; for these qualities are in truth, not so much wanting in themselves, as they are concealed from the view of persons not conversant with his works, by the depth and weight of the matter. Let me not

be understood here, as recommending that youth should be at once put upon the study of Plutarch; on the contrary, I should reserve him as well as Thucydides and Polybius for the more advanced scholar, and should make a beginning with Herodotus and Xenophon. But I shall at this time make no further remarks on *Plutarch*, in illustrating whose works I have spent a great part of my life; it being my intention to reserve all I have to say respecting him for the edition of his works which I have undertaken, and which the Oxford press is now occupied in printing.

[In our next Number, we shall give the remainder of this Article, which contains an account of the critical labour that Wyttenbach has bestowed upon the correction of the text of his authors, and, (what will be particularly interesting and valuable) a minute narrative of the manner in which he himself studied the classics, and the method he recommends as the most useful to others.]

On the Happy Temperament.

That uninterrupted cheerfulness which laughs away the evils of life, and meets all its accidents with the same careless good humour, has been the praise of many, and the envy of still more amongst mankind. This was the character which Goldsmith most delighted to draw, and which appears often delineated in his pages, and always with peculiar happiness, and for which, amidst his frequent embarrassments and vexations, he seems to have sighed with a hopeless solicitude—for it was very remote from his own. So much has this easiness of disposition attracted the admiration of the world, that it has been denominated, by way of eminence, the *happy temperament*. Yet, admired and praised as it has been, perhaps, if we look narrowly into the subject, we shall find it far from entering into the character of the truly wise and good man, the man of feeling and reflection, the philosopher, the benefactor of his species. To be moved to sorrow by the sufferings of others, and to grieve for calamities of our own, are laws of our nature, ordained for sacred and beneficent purposes, and are the moving principles of all that we do for our own happiness, and all the good that we impart to others. The heart that is dead to these natural and healthy impulses,

is hardened in no common degree, and that philosophy, which would deliberately shut the heart against them, is, at once, selfish and impious. He who looks round on his brethren of the human race, and sees the innumerable varieties of physical and mental suffering which assail them—the wretchedness and poverty—the agonies of pain—the miseries of vice—the inevitable calamities of nature—the wrongs which they heap on one another—will be inexcusable if unaffected by the melancholy review, and the more enlarged his knowledge and the warmer his benevolence, the deeper will be his sympathy. Yet none need go far for objects of compassion, and he who mingles least with society, will see, in the little circle in which he moves, enough of misery and malignity. It is the pain which spectacles of this nature give us, that has in all ages prompted the attempts of the good and the humane to improve the condition of our species. It is the fountain which feeds all the gentle and assiduous charities of civilized life. The strong sense of the evils and inconveniences of existing establishments has raised up at different periods the great reformers of mankind. Let it not be said that all this good might be effected without first awakening these feelings. They are almost inseparable from their proper objects; without them we should have nothing to remind us of our duty—no impulse to urge us to action. Not to feel and not to know the evils that attend the present condition of mankind are nearly the same thing; he who has estimated them truly, and yet contemplates them without emotion, is as distempered in mind, as he must be diseased in body, who should put his hand into the fire and be insensible to pain. And though few can expect to signalize themselves by great exertions in the cause of philanthropy, yet much may be done in the most limited sphere of human action, to enlighten, to amend, and to relieve our fellow creatures. Such are the feelings and the duties which spring from our more general relation to society. They ought not to destroy our tranquillity, but in every well regulated mind they must occasionally repress the overflowings of gayety and beget sober and sometimes painful reflections. But in our nearer and more particular connexions with our kind, as our enjoyments are greater, so they are chastened with more distressing interruptions. In those situations, there is mingled with our most valuable blessings, in their fullest enjoyment, something of a

melancholy nature—with the ties of friendship and love and natural affection, even when least injured by misfortune, God has interwoven the threads of a tender and pensive solicitude. The dread of losing what is so dear to us, taught us by our past experience of life and by the ordinary courses of Providence, is ever present in a sort of secret and undefinable sadness, and while it makes us more highly prize those blessings, and more carefully provide for their preservation, is yet kind in preparing us for the shock which we must suffer when they are taken from us. But hard and bitter is the trial when we see those whom we love drawn towards the grave by the irresistible progress of disease and decay, or when we are called to witness their last struggles and look on the dread consummation which we cannot avert, or—most afflicting of all—when we see them staining a virtuous reputation with errors which no repentance of ours can wash away. Yet the feelings which spring up in our hearts from scenes of this nature are not given to us in vain; our attentions may render more gentle the decline which we cannot retard, our affectionate assiduities may light with a weak smile the eye of the dying friend, our tenderness may win back the wanderer to the path of duty.

In those circumstances of our existence which solely respect ourselves, we shall find the materials of melancholy reflection, if possible, still more abundant. A thousand painful emotions pierce the heart—a thousand pangs too deep-felt and delicate to be uttered to others, and which the mind hardly ventures to imbody in language, in its own secret communings with itself. These, though of little consequence to any one else, have yet an important effect on him who is the subject of them. The frequent wanderings of heart and conduct, which are specks on the most pure and innocent life, call forth, in the virtuous and ingenuous bosom, that remorse without which no one can become better, and without which virtue itself would be a stranger to mankind. The strong natural desire to obtain the good-will and good opinion of others, without which society would lose its strongest tie, renders us more painfully sensible to the accusations of slander, from whose industrious malice the most blameless character is never secure. Yet we thence learn to regulate our conduct by stricter maxims, and, watching closely over ourselves, to live not only above cen-

sure, but above suspicion. The sacred and instinctive dread of death, which a thousand circumstances are perpetually calling up in our minds, and whose hold on the heart is so powerful that it requires more than common fortitude to prevent it, at times, from degenerating into an unmanly weakness, while it is one of the most melancholy, is, at the same time, one of the most salutary emotions of our nature.

These sensations, however, distressing as they often are, have, perhaps, when not carried beyond a certain limit, no unfavourable effect on our enjoyments; they sometimes even present us with peculiar enjoyments of their own. The returns of delight are rendered doubly welcome to us by intervals of sadness; we love them more and cling to them more closely for the soft tinge of pensiveness which past sufferings have thrown over them. Sympathy and sorrow, when not too acute, are never unaccompanied with a certain satisfaction, in the very agitation and employment which they give to the most blameless feelings of the heart. In the performance of the duties which they point out to us, there are hidden the sources of a most exquisite and refined gratification. Awful as the prospect of death justly is, he, who has thought of it most, will perhaps recollect, that he has sometimes felt a thrill of wild and strange delight as he contemplated this great change of being.

In this catalogue of the evils of life, I have not spoken of those which are transient and accidental. Innumerable occasions of sorrow have been passed over; I have dwelt only on such as are inevitable and common to all—such as are ever with us, colouring the whole course of our lives. But far be it from me to become an advocate for the gloom of despondency. He who sits down, obstinately to indulge in that sorrow which knows no hope, sins against all the purposes for which he was sent into the world. So far as the more melancholy emotions tend to make the heart better, and incline us to do good to mankind, so far they should be indulged, and perhaps cultivated, and no farther. He who governs himself by these principles, as his aim is the welfare of society, will ever desire to promote innocent and well-timed cheerfulness; he will never, without a benevolent purpose, check the sallies of gayety; he will not wish to throw the slightest shade over those weak and wintry glimpses of happiness which are sometimes permitted to find their way to

this earth. Accordingly the emotions of which I have spoken are a domestic and timid race, which love to dwell around the heart where they had their birth, and dread to be produced to the world. They are seen rather in actions than in words—they may sometimes cast a shade over the brow, but the voice of querulous repining is heard oftenest from the hard-hearted and the selfish. In short, the malancholy feelings, when called up by their proper and natural causes and confined to their proper limits, are the parents of almost all our virtues. The temperament of unbroken cheerfulness is the temperament of insensibility.

Quarterly List of New Publications in the United States.

Biography.

Memoirs of Henry Obookiah, a native of Owyhee, who died at Cornwall, Feb. 17, 1818. 2d edition, 75 cts.

Memoirs of Caroline E. Smelt. 75 cts.

History.

A History of England, from the first invasion by Julius Cæsar, to the peace of Ghent. By William Grimshaw. $1. Philadelphia.

The Campaign of the North Western Army, under Generals Harrison and Winchester, in the winter of 1812–13. 50 cts. Ohio.

Geography and Topography.

An authentic Map of the World. By H. S. Tanner. $7. Philadelphia.

New States and Territories, or a Description of the Western States in 1818. By Andrew Miller. 37½ cts. Keene, N. H.

A Map of Mexico, Louisiana, and the Missouri Territory. By Dr. John H. Robinson.

Natural History, &c.

A Catalogue of Plants growing spontaneously within thirty miles of the city of New York, published by the Lyceum of Natural History of New York. $1. Albany.

A new Theory of Galvanism, also a new mode of decomposing Potash extemporaneously; read before the Academy of Natural Science, Philadelphia. By Robert Hare, M. D. 37½ cts. Philad.

Law.

Report of the Trial of the Murderers of Richard Jennings in Orange County, N. Y. with Arguments of Counsel, pp. 132. 50 cts. Newburgh.

An Accurate report of the case of James Maurice *vs.* Samuel Judd, tried in the Mayor's Court of the City of New York, wherein the question—Is a Whale a Fish?—is discussed. By William Sampson, Counsellor at Law. 50 cts. New York.

A New Conductor Generalis, being a summary of the law, relative to the duty and office of Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs, &c. collated with the laws of New York. By a Gentleman of the Bar. 8vo. $4. Albany.

The Laws of Maryland, passed December Session, 1818. $1. Annapolis.

Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia. By William Munford, a continuation of Hening and Munford, vol. v. 8vo. $6,50. Fredericksburgh.

Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of Errors of the State of Connecticut. By Thomas Day. Vol. ii. No. 3. New Haven.

Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of Judicature, and other Courts in the State of New York. By William Johnson. vol. xv. 8vo. $6. New York.

Medicine.

Transactions of the Medical Society of the State of New York, for the year 1819, with the Annual Address by John Stearns, M. D. President of the Society. New York.

Theology.

A Series of Letters on the Modes and Subjects of Baptism, with an account of the Author's Trial on those points, which terminated in his embracing Believer's Baptism. By Stephen Chapin, late Pastor of the Congregational Church in Mont Vernon, N. H. 37½ cts. Concord, N. H.

Theology Explained and Defended, in a series of Discourses. By Timothy Dwight, D.D. LL.D. 8vo, vol. v. and last. N. Haven.

A Humble Attempt to reconcile the differences of Christians respecting the Extent of the Atonement; with an Appendix exhibiting the Influence of Christ's Obedience. By Edward D. Griffin, D. D. New York.

A Sketch of Missions, or History of the principal attempts to propagate Christianity among the Heathen. By Miron Winslow, A. M. Missionary to Ceylon. 12mo, pp. 432. $1,34. Andover.

Two Discourses, exhibiting an Historical Sketch of the First Baptist Church in Boston. By James M. Winchell, A. M. 31 cts. Boston.

Reply to the Rev. Mr. Judson's Sermon on Christian Baptism, an improved edition. By Rev. Enoch Pond. 50 cts. Boston.

Essays on the Distinguishing Traits of Christian Character. By the Rev. Gardiner Spring, A. M. 75 cts. New York.

An Examination of the Rev. Mr. Tyler's Second Pamphlet, entitled, 'The Doctrine of the Saint's Perseverance further vindicated,' &c. with 'An Appendix, on Calvinism in General.' By the Rev. Menzies Rayner, Rector of the Episcopal Church in Huntingdon. New Haven.

Nine Sermons preached at Plattsburgh, N. Y. By the Rev. William R. Weeks, A. M. Second edition, 18mo, pp. 200. 56 cts. Plattsburgh.

Review of the Reply to the Rev. S. N. Rowan's Sermon of the 9th of August 1818, including a summary of the evidence on the minutes of the Classis of New York, and their decision in his case, 50 cts. New York.

A Candid Development of Facts relative to the Difference between the First Baptist Church of Philadelphia and the Philadelphia Association. By Lewis Baldwin, 25 cts. Philadelphia.

Accounts of Religious Revivals in many parts of the United States, from 1815 to 1818. By Joshua Bayley, A. M. Albany.

An Appeal to the public with respect to the Unlawfulness of Divorces, in all cases, except those of incontinency. By Benjamin Trumbull, D. D. 2d edition, 12½ cts. New Haven.

A Sermon on the Festival of St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, delivered in the Roman Catholic Cathedral of New York, March 21, 1819. By the Rev. Wm. Taylor. New York.

Good Things aimed at, or Divine Truths touched on, to which is added, the History of Naphtali, or a brief detail of the Hind let loose. By James Osbourn, V. D. M. Pastor of the Third Church in Baltimore. 12mo. pp. 384, $1,25. Baltimore.

The Usefulness of the Sacred Office, a Sermon, delivered at Newburyport, March 9, 1819, at the Funeral of the Rev. Samuel Spring. By Leonard Woods, D. D. Newburyport.

The Young Preacher's Manual, or a collection of Treatises on Preaching, with a list of Books. Selected and revised, by Ebenezer Porter, D. D. Professor in the Andover Theological Seminary. 8vo. pp. 428. Boston.

Methodist Error, or Friendly Christian Advice to those Methodists who indulge in extravagant emotions, and bodily exercise. By a Wesleyan Methodist. 62 cts. Trenton, N. J.

A Sermon on the Doctrine of Election. By the Rev. Anthony Foster, Pastor of the Second Congregational Church in Charleston, S. C. 25 cts. Charleston.

Christian Disciple, New Series, Nos. 1 and 2. Boston.

A Discourse on Robbery, Piracy, and Murder, delivered in Boston, February 21, 1819, the Lord's Day after the execution of the Pirates. By Thomas Baldwin, D. D. Boston.

A Sermon preached at the Ordination of the Rev. Jared Sparks as Pastor of the First Independent Church in Baltimore. By the Rev. William E. Channing, with the Charge by the Rev. Dr. Porter, and an Address to the Society, by the Rev. Dr. Thayer. Baltimore.

Miscellaneous.

Vindiciæ Hybernicæ, or Ireland Vindicated. By Matthew Carey. 8vo. $2,50. Philadelphia.

A Year's Residence in America. By William Cobbett, Parts II and III. $1 each. New York.

History of the Rise, Progress, and existing state of the Berkshire Agricultural Society. By Elkanah Watson, late President of that Society. 75 cts. Albany.

The Art of making Whisky, also the Art of converting it into Gin. By Anthony Boucherie of Lexington, Ken. translated from the French, by C. M. 50 cts. Lexington.

Letters from the British Settlement in Pennsylvania. By C. B. Johnson, M. D. 18mo. 75 cts. Philadelphia.

Letters on the United Provinces of South America. By Don Vincent Pazos, translated from the Spanish, by Platt H. Crosby, Esq. with a map of the country. $2. Philadelphia.

Conversations on the Science of the Human Mind. By Ezra Stiles Ely, D. D. 12mo. pp. 300. Philadelphia.

The American Gardener. By John Gardiner and David Hephurn, a new edition, much enlarged. 12mo. pp. 350. $1. Georgetown, Col.

An Oration before the Shamrock Friendly Association of New York, March 17. By Stephen P. Lemoine, Esq. 25 cts. Philadelphia.

State Papers and Public Documents of the United States, from the accession of George Washington to the Presidency, exhibiting a complete view of our foreign relations since that time. 8vo. vols. XI and XII. T. B. Wait, Boston.

A Compendious Narrative, elucidating the character, disposition and conduct of Mary Dyer, from the time of her marriage in 1799, till she left the society of Shakers in 1815. By her husband, Joseph Dyer. 25 cts. Concord, N. H.

The Second Annual Report of the American Colonization Society. 8vo. pp. 132. Washington.

A Treatise on Political Economy; to which is prefixed a supplement to a preceding work on the Understanding, or Elements of Ideology. By Count Destute Tracy, translated from the unpublished original in French. 8vo. $3. Georgetown, Col.

Poetry.

The Ocean Harp, a poem in two cantos, with some smaller pieces. $1. Philadelphia.

Imagination, the Maniac's Dream, and other poems. By Henry T. Farmer, M. D. $1. New York.

A Collection of Poems on Different Subjects. By Elizabeth C. Jones. 25 cts. Providence.

Boston, or a Touch at the Times, a poem. By N. H. Wright. 25 cts. Boston.

American Editions of English Works.

The Edinburgh Encyclopedia, vol. xi. Part ii. 4to, $4. Philadelphia.

Campbell, or the Scottish Probationer, a Novel. 12mo. 2 vols. $2. Philadelphia.

A Practical Treatise on the Criminal Law. By Joseph Chitty, Esq. With Notes, by Richard Peters jun. in two vols. 8vo. vol. i. $7,50 in boards. Philadelphia.

Introduction to the Art of Thinking. By Lord Kames. 12mo. $1, 12½. New York.

Nightmare Abbey, a Novel. Ay the author of Headlong Hall. 75 cts. New York.

Spanish America, or a Descriptive, Historical, and Geographical Account of the Dominions of Spain in America. By R. H. Bonnycastle, two vols. in one. 8vo. $3. Philadelphia.

Human Life, a Poem. By Samuel Rogers. 37½ cts. Philadelphia.

Tom Cribb's Memorial to Congress. 50 cts. New York.

Waverley, a new edition. 2 vols. 18mo. New York.

Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Court of Kings Bench. By George Maule and William Selwin. vols. i and ii. $12. Boston.

Dr. William King's Anecdotes of his own Time. 12mo. Boston.

A Course of Lectures, containing a description and systematic arrangement of the several Branches of Divinity. By Herbert Marsh, D. D. Part iv. 8vo. pp. 78. Boston.

Sermons preached at the Tron Church, Glasgow. By Dr. Chalmers. 8vo. $2,25. New York.

The Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Revelation, shewn from the state of religion in the Ancient Heathen World. By John Leland, D. D. 8vo. 2 vols. Philadelphia.

The Poetical Works of Alexander Pope, Esq. 12mo. 3 vols. Philadelphia.

Works in the Press.

Wheaton's Reports, vol. iv. containing the Cases argued and adjudged in the Supreme Court of the United States, at the February Term, 1819. New York.

Tyng's Massachusetts Reports, vol. xv. Boston.

A Report of the Dartmouth College Case, with the arguments of Counsel, in the Superior Court of New Hampshire, and the Supreme Court of the United States. Exeter.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

AND

MISCELLANEOUS JOURNAL.

N°. XXV.

SEPTEMBER, 1819.

ART. XII.—*Statistical Annals, embracing views of the population, commerce, navigation, fisheries, public lands, post-office establishment, revenues, mint, military and naval establishments, expenditures, public debt and sinking fund of the United States of America,—founded on official documents. By Adam Seybert, M. D.* pp. 803. Philadelphia, Thomas Dobson & Son. 1818.

THERE are two kinds of productiveness or modes of making profit—one, by means of property already acquired; the other, by faculty or skill. If one lets a farm or sum of money, his income is, so far, the growth of acquired property, and he, the idle consumer or hoarder of its fruits; if he invent a machine or a process, make a poem or paint a picture that can be sold, his faculty and skill are the sources of his profit. But most productions result from the exercise of our mental and physical powers upon some valuable subject, which previous industry has supplied to our hands. And as it is the object of a general statistical work, to enumerate and estimate all the sources of income and means of commanding prices; to be perfect, it should not merely give an inventory of a nation's goods and lands; it should add to this an estimate of the capabilities of its people to acquire new property, either with or without the use of that already acquired; since skill in the art of instruction is as valuable to the possessor and the public, as a good farm. But as we cannot always command just what we could wish, in statis-

tics any more than other things, we must content ourselves with what is possible; and it is in the power of a government to come sufficiently near what is perfect, and to attain all practical ends, by directing an enumeration of its subjects to be made, with notice of age, sex, occupation and condition, and an account of all their capital to be taken, with a discrimination of the amount and productiveness of each description.

Individuals have not sufficient wealth or authority to procure such an account of the condition of a people; it is the proper work of the government, which has a direct interest in knowing the circumstances of its subjects, and which alone has a right to demand a disclosure of them. It is a wise and fortunate provision in the constitution of the United States, that requires a periodical census of the people. Its design was to furnish a basis for the distribution of direct taxes; but it often happens, as it did in this case, that the government in apportioning and levying the taxes, incidentally draws out important statistical facts, and while it only thinks of raising revenues, discloses the pursuits and condition of the people. Sometimes an individual is disposed, in his private capacity, to devote his time and his fortune to the collection of this kind of information, of which Sir John Sinclair has given a noble example in his statistical account of Scotland. Governments have in some instances caused the circumstances of their subjects and condition of their domains to be inquired into, without the direct purpose of levying taxes. Henry VIII of England, who, with all his foibles, gave many proofs of large and generous views, supported a statistical professor and antiquary,—Leland,—a man of great learning and enthusiasm in his pursuits, who travelled through many counties of the kingdom, to observe whatever was remarkable and worthy to be recorded in regard to history or economy; and the facts collected by him, though never published by himself, have found their way, more or less, into the works of other writers, and contributed not a little to the present stock of knowledge of the internal state of that kingdom. This is a noble example, and worthy to be followed by better sovereigns and better governments, than were those of England during the reign of that king. It is not merely useful, it is great and magnificent in a government, to extend its views beyond the mere process of taxation. By obtaining a thorough knowledge of the habits and means

of the people, it is not only enabled to make an equal distribution of the public burthens, so that they may be lightly and cheerfully borne,—it also discovers whether any part of the social machinery labours and needs repair or relief, and whether any new art requires encouragement, till time and habit have made it sufficiently strong to dispense with foreign aid, and enabled it to repay the community ten fold, for all the expense and care, of which it was the subject. The legislature must make laws to control the actions and bind the property of the people, and it cannot make itself too well acquainted with the subjects on which it is operating so powerfully and intimately, both for the present and the future. The people themselves, by knowing more of each other's and the public affairs, gradually shed their local antipathies and prejudices, till mutual interest and affection spring from acquaintance, and in time ripen into a steady and durable patriotism. For a while to come, as heretofore, we shall give vent to a little youthful vanity and arrogance, in computing our increasing wealth and power; but these will in the end be sobered into a national pride and self-respect, which are equally important as the basis of the character of a whole people, and an individual.

It is the more important to obtain a knowledge of the property and domestic productions which remain in the country for consumption or use, since, otherwise, as the exports and imports come under the observation of the government through the medium of the custom-houses, and are always before our eyes in ware-houses or vessels, or upon the wharves, and are often presented to us in reports of the treasury department, they are likely to obtain too much attention, to the exclusion of other branches of the national economy. Commerce, though of the utmost importance to the nation, is not a proper subject for much legislation; it is only to be protected and taxed. It should be left free to find its own channels, and then it will contribute to keep up a salutary circulation of property, and take only those directions in which the people have some real advantage over others, in carrying it on, and consequently will be a safe and permanent part of the general economy. Navigation laws and regulations, that are designed to protect trade, or to counteract those of other nations, are necessary; but it is a poor policy which has been pursued by the Europeans so

long, by which each one attempts to steal a march upon the others, by some manœuvre, which, if it succeed for a time, serves but to draw industry and capital into a forced and unnatural situation, where it can be maintained only by the continual exercise of the same violence or address by which it was brought there. The moment either is in the least remitted, that portion of the national industry is dislodged from the position into which it had been forced, and the national economy is disturbed. This disposition in governments to stratagem and violence, arises, very much, from notions which have long prevailed, but which now begin to be antiquated. The whole course of history shows that governments have acted, rather as if they had been instituted for the purpose of conquering, overreaching and plundering foreigners, than that of merely protecting their own people, and drawing out and perfecting their physical and moral capabilities. But recently they have more regard to the true end of their institution, and not unfrequently endeavour as much to be beneficent to their own subjects, as terrible to foreigners.

We hope we are not falling into the vaunting strain, to which it must be confessed our countrymen are a little prone, when we say, that our own governments are very happily constituted to avoid the abuses, of which we have just been speaking. All things relating to commerce and foreign affairs, being entrusted to the general government, the state legislatures are left to occupy themselves, almost exclusively, with domestic concerns; and as the members come from all parts, and bring with them, collectively, a knowledge of the wants, means and interests, not only of each division, but of almost every individual, they are possessed of every possible advantage for promoting the progress of society, as far as their pecuniary resources are sufficient. The tendency of this principle in our political system has already been very conspicuously displayed in the states of Virginia and New York, in the liberal measures they have taken to promote internal improvements. The same spirit has shown itself in the other states, of which Massachusetts has given an example particularly, in the encouragement it has offered to agriculture. The government of the United States has also begun to extend its activity beyond the sphere of its necessary duties, and to attempt to open the internal sources of an enduring and always increasing national greatness. It was in this

spirit that a proposition was made for setting apart the *bonus* of the United States Bank for purposes of internal improvement; and every American, who is a friend of his country, and every admirer of what is liberal and great, cannot but regret that there should have been any obstacle to the execution of a design so worthy of being carried into effect.

In taking the last census, and in levying direct taxes during the last war, an attempt was made to obtain more perfect returns of the state of industry and capital; and instructions for this purpose were drawn up by Mr. Tench Coxe, by direction of Mr. Gallatin. The returns were, however, very imperfect, and though Mr. Coxe digested the materials, thus furnished, into a system of tables, he was obliged to fill so many chasms by conjecture and deduction, that they are not satisfactory, and, on the whole, serve as much to shew what is wanted, as to supply it. It seems to us that Mr. Coxe might have supplied the deficiency of materials, in some measure, at least, by application to the treasurers of the states, since, in some, if not all of them, the taxes are apportioned in the ratio of property, and they must, necessarily, have an estimate of its aggregate value, though it may not be distinguished into its various species.

Mr. Seybert makes some very just remarks upon the importance of obtaining returns of the professions and trades of the inhabitants, in taking the next census. This may be very easily done, and it will give to economists and statesmen a most useful fact, and one that will throw more light upon the actual state of our economy than any other. Data of this sort are more particularly useful at the present time, as in the quiescence of parties at home, and during an almost universal peace, the attention of all, who care for the public, is naturally turned to the means of helping industry and the arts, and advancing civilization.

Before Mr. Pitkin's book was published, we had none of any pretension to the character of a systematic statistical work. Franklin had collected some detached facts; and, as none of his knowledge was ever sterile, he used them as the ground of calculations and inferences, that are marked with his usual sagacity and regard for the welfare of mankind. Mr. Jefferson had published his Notes on Virginia, a work that has been very generally read, with no less pleasure than profit, and has probably contributed, not a little, to produce the large

and generous economical policy, by which that state is so much distinguished. Mr. Blodget's Statistical Manual, published in 1816, though it contains some loose and rambling speculation, particularly unsuitable to a work bearing that title, yet presents a great mass of facts, which had not before been embodied in any work, and contains the rudiments of many of the tables, which have since been enlarged on the same plan, by the addition of subsequent materials. This work was of great use in supplying our legislators and economists with such information as could then be obtained, and in keeping up the attention of the public to statistical subjects, and leading the way to the larger and more complete systems of Mr. Pitkin and Mr. Seybert. The next statistical work was Mr. Coxe's 'Statement of Arts and Manufactures,' published in 1814, and of which we have already spoken. Besides these, we had only such detached facts, as were scattered in periodical publications, pamphlets, and speeches and reports made to Congress.

Mr. Pitkin was the first to give the people of the United States any thing like a systematic view of their economy and means. He begins with a brief account of the trade of the United States, while they were colonies, and the rest of his book embraces the same subjects with that of Mr. Seybert, with the exception of the army, and navy, and the mint; and the materials for both are drawn from the same source,—the records of Congress. We noticed Mr. Pitkin's book at the time of its publication. Its reputation is now well established both in the United States and abroad, and it is considered an essential part of the library of every statesman and economist.

Mr. Pitkin has done all he proposed to do, in his work; in which he does not profess to give a complete view of the state of capital and industry. Mr. Seybert's plan is more extensive; he gives many useful additional details on the subjects common to both works, and in some cases the facts added make the greater part of the chapter. The tables are the most important part of a work of this sort. Those of Mr. Seybert are in the main the same that had been before published by Mr. Pitkin. Mr. Seybert makes one very convenient addition to some of the tables, sometimes by a new column and sometimes by a remark subjoined, in which the results are stated in proportions. In the chapter on popula-

tion, the proportions of free persons to slaves, males to females, &c. are given; as also in that on commerce, the proportionable value of particular articles of export, compared with that of all our exports. He adopts the same plan in other instances; and it cannot be too much used, as it helps the memory, or rather it puts results into the only form in which they can be remembered. This is the result for which one always consults a work of this kind, and one which the reader must obtain for himself, unless the author presents it to him. The statement of proportions makes Mr. Seybert's chapter on population much preferable to Mr. Pitkin's, which latter is very short, consisting of only three or four tables, without remarks; and indeed Mr. Pitkin hardly seems to have considered the subject of population as coming within his plan. Mr. Seybert has, we believe, collected all the facts we possess respecting our population, and these, on the whole, constitute a mass of very valuable information; but a very essential addition might be made, and we hope that Mr. Seybert's suggestion, concerning a return of the professions and occupations of the inhabitants, will be recolleeted, in giving instructions for taking the next census. This fact seems to us to be as important as any in the whole compass of statistical science; for it is the habits and character of the people that constitute the better part of the strength and glory of a nation, and the facts which lead us nearest to these, are to be the most sought after.

On the subjects of commerce, navigation, and fisheries, Mr. Seybert does not seem to us to have made any very material additions, except, as has been mentioned, by giving proportional results. We know not, why neither he nor Mr. Pitkin has given any table, showing what quantities of the several articles composing our entire exports have been carried to each foreign nation, though they both give the value of exports to particular countries, and also the particular articles that have constituted our exports to Great Britain at some periods. But it is quite as useful to know to what several countries the specific articles, making up our whole exports, were carried, as to be informed of the value carried to each. This defect is partially supplied in Mr. Pitkin's book, by a statement of the destination of the staple articles of exportation at some periods.

Mr. Seybert has a section upon the 'balance of trade,' a

phrase, which we wish could fall into disuse, since it means nothing which may not be expressed perfectly well without the use of it, and since, by continuing to use it, we only keep up false notions, that were long ago exposed. For the seven years subsequent to 1794, Mr. Seybert finds the average annual balance against us to be fifteen millions of dollars. This, to be sure, he calls an *apparent* balance, but that qualification of the term does not prevent the chapter, in general, from making an impression that an *unfavourable* balance of trade is necessarily prejudicial to this country, or, in other words, that it is the result of a losing trade. 'The trade with China and the East Indies,' he says, 'was uniformly disadvantageous, and the more so, because our purchases were made almost entirely with specie.' The reader cannot but understand Mr. Seybert to mean, that our trade with India had been, in fact, a losing commerce to us, or in some way injurious to us; and that, for a very singular reason, because 'our purchases were made almost entirely with specie.' Suppose one should say, that a private gentleman's traffic with his tailor or baker is disadvantageous to him—why?— because he pays their bills in gold or silver—would the answer have any force, unless it should be shown how such a way of paying was not so advisable as some other? His specie is of no value to keep; to derive any advantage from it, he must exchange it for something; and as he has a real, or what is much the same thing, an imaginary want of bread and clothes, why should he not exchange his gold and silver for them, unless he can exchange them for some third article, which will procure him a greater quantity of those necessaries. Now in regard to the India trade, we cannot in general exchange our dollars for any other species of merchandize, which will command so great a quantity of India goods, as the dollars themselves will. We have cotton, rice, and nails and shoes, which we do not want; the people of India have silks and sugar and coffee, which we do want, but for which they will not take the articles we have to dispose of, at so high a price as we can sell them in the West Indies and Europe. Why should we not then exchange our superfluous merchandize for dollars, in the West Indies and Europe, and with those dollars, procure silks and coffee in India, if we can procure a greater value of them, for the same costs and charges, than could be procured in the places where

the specie is purchased? This is all so plain, that it would be a mark of great simplicity to repeat it, were it not that the erroneous meaning formerly attached to some phrases, used in works on political economy, have taken such deep possession of the minds of many people, that it is almost impossible to disabuse them; and they will never be brought to think justly upon these subjects, till those phrases are wholly dropped, or at least never used without a particular explanation of the meaning intended to be conveyed. These errors are not merely the inconsequential eccentricities of speculation, that do no other harm than mar the beauty of logic; they are substantial practical mistakes, that lead to inconvenient consequences; inasmuch as they draw the attention of people from the true causes of their difficulties, and so make them overlook the proper remedies, or prevent them from seeing that no remedy is needed; and, what is worst of all, provoke them to angry accusations and futile complaints. When any scarcity of money occurs—which will be the case in every country where enterprise is rife and credit more or less a substitute for capital—a great outcry is made against the India trade, and the newspapers are filled with predictions of impending ruin to be brought upon us by the exportation of specie. Now, as all this ado leads to nothing, it would be nugatory though it were founded upon just views; but it is not more futile than the supposition, upon which it is founded, is false. It takes for granted that the specie would remain in this country, if it were not carried to India,—whereas it would not be brought here, but for the purpose of being exported thither. Or, suppose there were no apparent outlet for specie, and that great quantities continued to be brought into the country; still money would not therefore necessarily be plenty, or interest low, as is proved by the example of India; for money is often as scarce in Bengal, as in the United States, and generally bears a higher interest.

Observations similar to the preceding were made thirteen years ago by Mr. Blodget, and had been made by many others before, and have often been repeated since; but people have not yet incorporated these truths into their habits of thinking.

We have spoken of the plenty and scarcity of money and specie, in connexion with the balance of trade, because people suppose them to be intimately connected; and in connex-

ion with the India trade, because, in that, we pay for a greater part of our importations in specie. But the scarcity of money, supposed to result from this kind of trade, is a small evil, compared with another which is apprehended from it, viz. the impoverishment, and finally, the bankruptcy of the country. An apprehension of this sort was expressed in Congress by a member of the House of Representatives during the last session. That gentleman and many others say, that seeing the balance of trade is fifteen millions against us, or that the goods we buy of foreigners are worth more than those we sell to them, by that sum, we must of consequence pay them so much money every year. Now, supposing the circulating medium of Massachusetts a little to exceed the capital of its forty banks, it is twelve millions of dollars; and supposing it to be one tenth part of the money of the United States, the whole will be one hundred and twenty millions; the whole of which, according to the apprehension of these gentlemen, will be paid away for English and India goods, in the course of eight years; or rather, according to their notions, we never could have accumulated this amount of money; for the balance of trade, from the custom house estimates, has always been quite as unfavourable as it is at present, and therefore, according to their argument, we ought to have been bankrupt and ruined long ago. But notwithstanding all such reasonings and forebodings, the affairs of the country still go on, and every year finds an increased number of ships in our ports, a greater quantity of goods in our ware-houses, new roads and canals constructed, new lands brought under cultivation, and the old cultivated better, new manufactories erected and other arts introduced, and no diminution of the quantity of the precious metals. Gold and silver, it is true, do not bear so great a proportion to the capital or circulating medium of the country, as they ought, in order to maintain confidence; but this, we hold, is not more owing to the India trade, when it is regularly carried on, than to the cod-fishery. When the course of that trade is uniform, as one merchant sends out a thousand dollars to India this year, another is ordering a thousand from the West Indies or Europe to sell him next year. Should the India merchant make a good voyage, he will desire next year to send out fifteen hundred dollars, and because he wants to buy more dollars than he can find in the market, he will have to give a higher price,

as in every other case, and all the dollars that can be obtained will be purchased, and, consequently, as far as they constituted the circulating medium, money would be made scarce;—but should he make a bad voyage, he will not be inclined to ship more than five hundred dollars next year: the importer of dollars will therefore have more than enough to supply him, and will accordingly be obliged to sell those at a low price, and the remainder, if they are at, or very near par, will be absorbed into the general mass of the circulating medium, and so make money more plenty. But since a greater part of the specie shipped to India has borne a high premium here, it has not lately constituted any considerable part of the circulating medium; that is to say, debts have not been paid with it, nor has it been understood or used in any contract, in which money has been stipulated for. Since, then, by far the greater part, and in a manner the whole, of the specie shipped, has been treated as merchandize in every respect, both in importing, exporting and transferring it, this trade has not affected the plenty or scarcity of money, any more than any other trade might do; and it will not have any effect peculiar to itself, unless the specie falls to *par*, or very near it, in which case it will go to increase the circulating medium.

Upon this view, it will be perceived that the balance of our trade with India is not against us in any acceptation of that phrase, or at least not to any considerable amount; for the merchandize we ship to India is equal in value, or nearly so, to our importations from thence.

But a little further inquiry will show, that what is called an unfavourable and disadvantageous balance, is the very one we want; and unless there were such a balance, we could not continue to carry on commerce. All calculations on this subject are founded on a supposed value of merchandize in our own ports; the real, marketable value is therefore the one to be assumed; for a supposition is the basis of reasoning only as it approaches to this. Assuming that value, then, is it not evident, if a merchant ships a cargo in this country to purchase another abroad, that the return cargo ought to be of more value here, than the outward? Else, how is he to be remunerated for the interest of his money, his time, insurance and freight? The more unfavourable the balance, (to use the language of the economists,) from this cause, the more advan-

tageous is the voyage, both to the merchant and the community. Mr. Seybert says, the freights of our vessels, which he estimates at thirty two millions annually, are more than sufficient to pay the whole balance of trade against us; but he ought to have reversed the proposition, and said, that the real balance of trade against us, as it would appear if the goods were truly estimated, is more than enough to pay all our freights. Otherwise, our merchants would be losing money, and consequently foreign commerce would soon come to an end.

Mr. Pitkin has made some just remarks upon this subject, and indeed all we have been saying has been often repeated, and is quite well understood by all well informed merchants, and it is only necessary it should be more generally understood by the people at large, to prevent a great deal of useless complaining; and our present purpose is to contribute something, if possible, to this effect.

If the East India trade does not affect our circulating medium materially, it may be asked, what are the causes of the derangements of our pecuniary system, which happen more or less frequently? One obvious cause would be the carrying away out of the country any part of our circulating medium, of whatever coins or bank notes it might consist, if that were in fact done. But our bank notes are not exported at all; and the outlets for any part of what constitutes our actual money, are sufficiently supplied by corresponding inlets. The transportation of our money abroad has hitherto been among the slightest causes, by which our circulating medium has been affected. Any disorder of our pecuniary system is most generally produced by the abridgement of credit, miscalculations and dishonesty of individuals, the diversion of the circulating medium from its ordinary channels, and an increase in the amount of contracts that require the interposition of money in their execution. We should look for the origin of our embarrassment in these causes, and not in the balance of trade. Suppose, in a time of prosperity and general confidence, all contracts are made at a credit of six months; and, from some change, people suddenly become more cautious and distrustful of each other, and some will sell only for ready money, and none at a longer credit than three months. Though the amount of contracts may be diminished, still it is evident that if any new contracts are

made, there will be a greater amount on the whole to be executed by the payment of money, during the six months after the change takes place, allowing that nobody hoards up his money. The same quantity of money remaining in the market must circulate round, through the execution of a greater amount of contracts, and consequently a comparative scarcity be produced. And this effect will be aggravated, if any part of the circulating medium should be hoarded up, or banks withhold their usual amount of discounts. Hence it is obvious in what way credit is capital or a substitute for it. It does not increase the amount of property, nor does it make business any better for those engaged in it, or for the community, unless there is a deficiency of capital for carrying it on. A long credit enables the purchaser to turn his goods and meet his payment out of the proceeds. Credit enables people to do much business with a little capital. This is a fact too obvious and well known to be stated, except for the purpose of making an application of it. The circulating medium is made comparatively plenty or scarce by the expansion or contraction of credit, and this being dependent on public opinion and custom, must necessarily be subject to all the influences, from real or imaginary causes, by which they are operated upon, and will be forever varying with them. In proportion, therefore, as business is done upon credit, the circulating medium will be affected by this cause. Money is very much subject to this influence in this country, because credit is greatly in use.

It is the practice of giving credit, that implicates trading men so much with each other; so that one very often involves many others in his misfortunes or errors. Were it the usage to pay, at the moment, for whatever was purchased, a much greater amount of money would be requisite to transact the same quantity of business, but no one would be able to sport with any capital but his own. As the practice now is, every man of business makes a provision of dues to cancel contemporary debts. His creditors and debtors to the number of twenty, fifty, or a hundred, have a similar arrangement. Thus every one, in proportion as his capital is small or of a kind not easily convertible into money, depends on the ability and punctuality of many others, for the means of meeting his own engagements. Among these there will be many, who rely more or less on the proceeds of sales of their goods,

for the means of meeting their engagements; and this resource is, necessarily, more or less uncertain in respect both to time and amount. Thus the interests of a trading people are complexly and remotely interwoven together; and as a thousand hands are constantly employed in framing the texture, its strength will depend on the skill and faithfulness with which they severally work their respective parts. The general system of debts and credits, and transfers of property, is made up of all the particular systems of individual dealers; and though the proceedings of each are, in a greater or less degree, a secret to the others, yet the designs and calculations of one have a close connexion with, and correspondence to, those of the rest; and in proportion as each design is well formed, and each calculation accurately made, the whole system will move with harmony, and increasing confidence and prosperity will be the result.

The derangement of the affairs of individuals, and their inability to perform what they have authorized others to expect from them, neither carries money out of the community, nor brings it in. Still it produces a scarcity; for their creditors being disappointed of funds from the sources by which they anticipated them, are compelled to seek others; and the inquiry for this purpose makes a seeming scarcity, and raises the rate of interest, in the same manner that great demand raises the price of any article; and that, not unfrequently, when there is a sufficient supply in the market; for the inquiries have a tendency to produce a tacit combination among sellers, to raise their terms.

In the same way a heavy tax, if it be collected in a short time, produces a scarcity of money, by withdrawing it from circulation during the time it is passing through the hands of the public officers and through the treasury, till it is paid out to the people again for supplies or services, of which the government has need. The heavy loans, made by the different governments of Europe, are supposed to have had a great influence in causing the recent derangement of pecuniary concerns there. Any operation, in short, by which money is diverted from the channels provided for it by the chain of designs and obligations, by means of which the different parts of the trading world are connected together, disturbs the communication, and tends to produce a seeming or real scarcity.

Another cause of the want of money is the increase of business, or of the amount of contracts requiring the transfer of money in their execution, without a corresponding increase of the amount of the circulating medium. This cause of pecuniary embarrassment operates with greater activity in this country than in any other, on account of the rapid growth of the country, the great amounts of new property daily added to our stock, the new scenes of enterprise continually opening, and the corresponding multiplication of the transfers and contracts that involve the use of money. And in the new parts of the country, money is generally scarce.

The negligent habits of business that prevail in many parts of the country, where no one thinks of performing his engagements punctually, serve greatly to increase all the evils attendant on credit, and the consequent complication of affairs.

These views, if they be correct, cannot be too frequently presented to the people, who should be made well acquainted with our real situation, and thereby reclaimed from attempting to trace their prosperity or distress to causes which have no influence in producing them, and prevented from uselessly regretting the supposed ruinous balance of trade, and repeating violent declamations against the importers of India goods, and the brokers, of whose services they sometimes make use.

It is the province of legislators and economists, to inquire whether any particular foreign trade is in competition with domestic industry, in order to give the latter encouragement, if necessary. But they should concern themselves very little with the profits or losses of trade, as it is a question, which the merchants alone are acquainted with, and capable of deciding; and as the public interest coincides exactly with theirs, there is no danger of its being neglected. The losses of trade fall, in the first instance, on the capitals of the merchants; and, as Mr. Pitkin justly remarks, the plain way of determining whether trade has been profitable, is to ascertain whether merchants have been growing wealthy. But the merchant alone is to act upon this fact, when known: to the legislator it is a matter of curiosity and information, but not of practical measures.

The proceedings of our government in regard to the purchase, surveying, and sale of the public lands, and tables of the proceeds of the sales, make a very considerable article in

Mr. Seybert's book; in that of Mr. Pitkin, only the proceeds are mentioned, as constituting part of the revenue. Mr. Seybert's article contains nothing superfluous. We cannot extend the same remark to that on the post-office; a great part of which is too well known, or of too small importance, to be published in this work. Though Mr. Pitkin mentions the post-office only as a source of revenue, the facts he states are judiciously chosen, and enough for any statistical work.

In regard to revenue derived from external commerce, we do not perceive that Mr. Seybert has added any important information to the stock of which the public was already possessed, except by the introduction of a few recent facts. For the reasons stated in the beginning of this article, we were gratified to find he had given a much more full account of the internal revenue and its sources, than is contained in Mr. Pitkin's work.

Our army and navy are very interesting subjects to every citizen of the United States, in regard to our economy and resources, no less than to our national strength and glory. They occupy a large space in Mr. Seybert's book, who not only gives an account of the number of men, ships of war, and all our apparel and apparatus of warfare, excepting fortifications, but also enters, with some minuteness, into the system of their organization and administration, as far as the same are connected with economy. He has said nothing upon these subjects, which one, having interest in the public affairs, will not find it useful to know. We submit to our readers the following extracts, from his general observations on the military and naval establishments.

'Our revolutionary experience and frequent instances in the late war, have taught us that an undisciplined militia is the most expensive, the most wasteful, and the least effective force that can be brought into the field. Many of our most distinguished officers concurred in thus characterising this species of force. General Washington said, "If I was called upon to declare, upon oath, whether the militia have been most serviceable or hurtful on the whole, I should subscribe to the latter."' p. 268.

Mr. Seybert attributes this inefficiency of our militia to want of system in its organization and discipline.

'Before it shall be again too late, we should take advantage of our experience during the late war; the most scientific of the

officers, ought to be employed to form a plan for the organization of the militia and army, and it should be put into operation in ihe states and territories respectively.

'Uniformity in military affairs constitutes the soul of the system. No army can boast more brilliant triumphs than that of France. No nation has paid so much attention to the uniformity of the discipline and organization of the troops; there the principle has extended to all the ramifications of the service. Though a gun carriage, a musket, &c. which may have been made in the most southern district, should, when it arrives in the extreme north of the empire, want a wheel, any portion of the lock, or even a single screw, the defect is instantly remedied from the surplus which is kept at every depot to meet the emergency; the different parts of a gun carriage or a firelock, though they may have been made in very distant establishments, will, when they are collected, fit as though they had been executed by the same workman.' p. 629.

'The military academy at West Point has afforded a sufficient number of proofs of its utility; the seminary, which is but an infant establishment, merits the fostering care of the government. Every attempt to multiply the number of military schools in the United States should be resisted, until after the original establishment shall have attained the highest state of improvement. Every additional institution will add much to the expenses, and may have the effect of retarding the progress of instruction in all of them; different systems may be formed in each of them. Should several schools be authorized, the students from the different states will remain strangers to each other.' p. 630.

'The progress of our navy, like that of most other nations, was retarded by the errors which had been committed. Its increase was anticipated only when danger was supposed to be near; all then was hurry and confusion. Vessels not adapted to the service were purchased of our merchants. The building of ships was commenced without adequate provision of timber; the most extravagant prices were paid for every kind of material; contracts were made when the contractors understood our necessities; and the ships, which were built, soon decayed and became unfit for service.

'Whole suits of new rigging have been laid aside; sets of new sails have been destroyed; much timber has been wasted; enormous sums of money have been squandered to gratify the caprice of commanders. Uniformity in the fitting and equipment of vessels of the same class is the conservative spirit of this establishment.'

'Ships of war of the first class should never be built in private

yards. The private builders cannot afford to supply themselves with an adequate stock of seasoned timber; no private yard is calculated for such ships, of course the government must bear the expense of the necessary alterations. In England it has been proved that the ships built in the dock-yards of the king were more durable than those built by contract in the merchant's yards; the ships built in the king's yards lasted, on an average, about fifteen years, whilst such as were built in private yards, lasted about ten years.'

Mr. Seybert states the cost of several of our public vessels, and estimates the expense of enlarging our navy, to a strength sufficient for our protection, to be eleven millions of dollars, and its aggregate expense, when built, to be five millions per annum.

'Most nations have been prodigal of the timber in their forests; perhaps no one has been less attentive to this subject than ourselves. Our shipwrights say, that the price of ship-timber in the United States, has advanced, on an average, ten per cent. since 1800. Many persons believe that our stock of live oak is very considerable; but upon good authority we have been told, in 1801, that supplies of live oak from Georgia, will be obtained with difficulty, and that the larger pieces were very scarce; it was then supposed that we should be obliged to depend upon white oak; to which it was added, that "our white oak ships will last as long as those of most other countries." Our government has taken the precaution to appropriate funds for the purchase of lands, on which there was growing timber fit for naval purposes.'

'It has long been a desideratum to prevent the premature decay of ship-timber; with this view many expedients have been adopted. Soaking the timber in a saturated solution of common salt was found to render the ships moist, unpleasant and sickly. The Prudent and Intrepid, ships in the British service, were constructed from timber soaked in brine, but the inconveniences above-mentioned caused that practice to be discontinued. The most experienced shipwrights in the United States say, that timber may be used from the stump, provided the ships be salted; they consider salting as effectual in the preservation of timber, as it is for meats, &c. The best American merchant ships are salted; and this precaution has been adopted for ships lately built for our navy. At Brest, the French have a covered dock; the Venetian practice was also to build under cover. In consequence of exposure to the weather, some of the timbers of the Lord Nelson, a first rate, built at Deptford, had "rents six feet

long." It has been customary in the British navy yards, to have a stock of timber equal to three years' consumption.'

We have extracted the above observations for the purpose of contributing, if possible, to their receiving whatever consideration their justness and importance may entitle them to, of which others are more able to judge than ourselves; and it has also been our purpose to promote inquiry and investigation, in regard to the subjects to which they relate.

We have already remarked, that there are many subjects which ought to be comprehended in a statistical work, some of which are not introduced by Mr. Seybert, such as the circulating medium, and the channels, amount and kinds of our internal commerce; and others, concerning which the information given is very imperfect, such as the economy of our agriculture and manfactures. In regard to some of these subjects, writers must depend upon the government for materials; upon others we shall not be well instructed till individuals are led into inquiries respecting them, and induced to devote long and indefatigable labours, to the collecting of facts and establishing of principles. But few have the requisite comprehensiveness of views, and still fewer sufficient industry and pertinacity of purpose. It thence happens, that we do not make ourselves acquainted with subjects of mere general utility, upon which it is not necessary for us to act, or to express an opinion for which we must be responsible. Accordingly the reports of committees of our legislatures, and the speeches of the members, contain more substantial information upon these subjects, than all our productions besides; for with them it is necessary, in the ordinary course of business, to make an investigation and to be responsible for an opinion, in such a way that the reputation of the authors is involved. We make few books, and our newspapers and periodical works do not abound in able speculations upon subjects, which have no other attraction, than that of being of the utmost importance in regard to the general welfare. Men of extensive reading and liberal notions, and not without public spirit, discover a surprising and mortifying indifference and levity in this respect. Of all who read our own book, whom we should be unwilling to rank among those of the least regard for the general good, we would not venture to assert, that one in thirty would read through a speculation, which should only be a plain, but thorough investigation

of some subject, not to be acted upon or talked about at any particular time, but which should yet be very intimately connected with the general welfare. The middling and ordinary people read things of this kind that come within the sphere of their intelligence, and it is in this way the general mind is impregnated with the seeds of good sense and sound practical philosophy. But readers of this class do not understand more complicated subjects, and such as branch out into remote and multifarious relations, or require the preparation of liberal study; and when a writer can bring his subject to their level, he does not find their opinion, and even patronage, a sufficient motive and reward to a great and aspiring mind. He knows that the first quack that comes along, may divide, with him, this sort of public favour and reputation. It is the men of influence, talents, wealth and learning, in whose presence he wishes to act, and on whose opinion alone he thinks it possible to found a secure, and durable, and lofty reputation. But of these, too many are wrapped up in their selfish purposes, or pursuing transitory pleasures, and look upon all things else with a frigid, deadening indifference. It is too remarkable to see, among them, an eye kindling and glowing with the love of human kind; and they sometimes even constrain themselves to conceal what generosity and benevolence they have, lest it should make them seem ridiculous.

Some few indulge their better feelings, and act upon broader principles, who are willing to study and labour, for the welfare of men, and to reward others, who devote themselves to the same work, with their good opinion and support. They cheerfully expose themselves to all the envy, and cavils, and sneers, from the narrow and selfish, which real superiority of any kind, even in goodness, is sure to encounter. But the number of such is not great, and of these the information, talents, pecuniary means, or influence, of many, are limited, so that they do not readily distinguish what is excellent and dseful; or distinguishing, are not able to promote or reward it. Here and there one is both vigilant for excellence, and regardful of general utility, and at the same time has authority enough to give currency to an opinion. He may notice the useful truths that are thrown out, and repeat them to others, who may again repeat them, till they at length become, to a greater or less extent, incorporated with the

habits of thinking of the people. Meantime, the author is forgotten, if he was ever known; he knows not that he has produced any effect, and seems to have spent his time and bestowed his labour in vain. Or if he is conscious of having made a suggestion, that will ultimately be useful, and make him so far a benefactor to men; this consciousness, though gratifying and flattering, is not a motive sufficiently strong with most people, and a man ought to have remote views and generous sentiments, to find it an incentive to strenuous and long continued exertion. Men soon become discouraged, unless they are assured that they act with effect, and feel some reaction upon themselves. The young are generally ambitious, and willing to submit to all labours and sacrifices, to gain public opinion, or to feel that they are able to make themselves felt; and they are generally benevolent, from sentiment, and disposed to serve mankind for the consciousness of doing it, before experience has corrected them of their virtues; but they feel neglect and ill success very sensibly, and after failing in some of their generous purposes, which they had pursued with a vain ardour, or perceiving no fruits of the good learning and true excellence for which they had laboured, they sink into a love of themselves, and indifference to all mankind besides; or turn themselves to study the science of pleasing, that they may receive as a favour that consideration which they despair of commanding as due, or else they apply themselves to the empirical practices, to keeping of appearances and studying effect, by which the world is so often made to wonder at small persons, and serve the crafty.

Quackery is more taking, and spreads much more rapidly, than true art, insomuch that men of correct perceptions and fair views, often make use of the seemings, which they despise as much as the multitude admire, as a medium through which their real worth and power may act. In regard to affairs of general utility, the course of which depends upon the habits of thinking and acting of very many persons, and which can be affected only by forming or changing those habits, there is very little room for the practice of those arts, which afford ready gratifications of interest and ambition. It is, besides, not easy for a cautious, sensible man, to be perfectly satisfied of the utility of his own views and projects, in regard to affairs that are very complicated, and where it is often impossible to possess himself perfectly of the facts,

on which his opinion should be founded. After convincing himself, if he would give others the benefit of his conviction, he must sit down with a solitary, cool, unconquerable fortitude, and patience of delays and disappointments. If he hope to give new ideas, on which new habits are to be engrafted, which shall not interfere with present usages, he must content himself with hoping that future times may reap the benefit of his labours, when he himself shall be no longer remembered. He must be like the good old man, who being asked why he was planting trees, of which he could never enjoy the fruit, replied, 'somebody will enjoy it.' But if he propose to disturb the present habits of acting and thinking, he must be prepared to find his arguments answered by sophisms, or excluded by prejudice, and himself ranked with projectors and visionaries. Take an example that is now at hand. Mr. Lancaster says he has spent eighteen years of his life, and a very considerable part of his fortune, in perfecting and spreading his system of education, in doing which he has (though he does not say it himself) encountered opposition from the prejudices, and habits, and interests of individuals, and the discountenance of his own government. He has met with great success, and has the satisfaction of knowing that five millions of children have been the subjects of his system, and of believing that they, and many millions more, even the entire multitude of the civilized world, will feel the benefits of it. Yet how few are there who would undertake such a labour, even with the certainty of such a result; and nobody would engage in it while it was uncertain, who was not penetrated and filled with a predominant enthusiasm, that should be sustained by the ceaseless presence of a great purpose. We have been present at his lectures, and, notwithstanding the homeliness of his style, and the plainness of his manner, and even of his audience,—for there were not many there who shine in the world,—we confess that the spectacle was to ourselves not without grandeur. One naturally called to mind the discussions of which his system had been the subject among the great,—the effects it had produced upon the men who now are, and might yet produce upon those who are to be—he stated his purpose of travelling through the United States to promulgate his system, expecting no pecuniary advantage, and only hoping to raise the means of defraying his expenses—a thousand peo-

ple were present, not for amusement, or form, or show, but to listen to the results of many years' experience and close observation on a subject near to the hearts of many, for many of them were parents, and intimately connected with the great interests of society and the progress of civilization. Whatever may be thought of the exterior form of his system, he stated and illustrated the leading principles of the art of endowing the young mind with knowledge and discipline, in a way which could not fail of making an impression on those who heard him, and producing some practical effect. In all this there seemed to be something to raise a liberal mind, and to please a generous one. But we have since heard and read many remarks not according with these impressions, and shewing to what a man exposes himself by aiming to render service to the world, and sacrificing every thing to his great purpose; and also, what little things people sometimes attend to, when great objects are before them. Some complained that his voice was unpleasant, and utterance imperfect; others, that he told anecdotes which might be found in books, or were trifling; others, that his illustrations were not refined; some said, his system was already well understood among us, and practised upon as far as is useful; and some, that it was unsuitable to our state of society. It has been said by some one, that he was fond of roving, and cunningly gave lectures to supply himself with pocket money. It is fortunate for a man who would serve the world, if he is beyond the effect of such remarks.

Mr. Lancaster makes an experiment; in this there is something animating to the experimenter, and striking to the observation of other people. But suppose his system could not have been proved, till he could have brought many other persons to understand, and some to try it. It would then have been more like those great general truths and useful combinations, some of which work their way slowly into the system of thinking and habits of a people, and others not at all. This sort of knowledge, very much of which is comprehended in economical science and statistics, is laborious to acquire, and difficult to spread. All liberal minded and public spirited men should, therefore, lend it their utmost aid, by encouraging those who devote themselves to its cultivation, and seeking out, and noticing, and diffusing, whatever of their productions are worthy of the public attention.

ART. XIII.—*On the means of education, and the state of learning in the United States of America.*

On the state of learning in the United States of America, 1819. (From Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine.)

THE cognizance which our transatlantic brethren are disposed to take of American literature, evinces that we are not regarded by them with indifference; and though their judgments are not always founded in that liberality which is becoming in every portion of the great republic of letters towards every other, yet we suppose they would affect a contemptuous smile, if we should ascribe any of their trials and decisions to a jealousy growing out of our improvement, and rapid advances in learning and the arts. Till of late, most of what has been said by the literary censors of Great Britain, has consisted of remarks somewhat vague and general, except so far as to point out to us, not always in the most kindly manner, such *words* as they pronounced to be of American coinage, and such uses of words and phrases as violate the true English idiom. By whatever spirit this was dictated, we rejoice in the result; it has, in a few instances, given us opportunity to triumph over a rash decision; but, what is of much greater value, it has made us vigilant to guard against the intrusion of barbarous words and phrases, which an independence too bold and presumptuous, and bidding too great defiance to the critics of our mother country, might have led us to regard with criminal indifference.

In the remarks under the titles which we have placed at the head of this article, we are favoured with a more particular account of American learning, and the state of our literary institutions, than any we recollect to have seen before. The outlines must have been furnished by one of our home-bred scholars; but the filling up and the colouring, the incongruous composition of the parts, and the air of caricature that pervades the whole, we are confident must be the work of a foreign artist. Slight inconsistencies might escape one, who was well acquainted with our learning and literary institutions; but there is an inconsistency in the two articles which we have cited, almost throughout: while the situation and circumstances of our country are incidentally mentioned, as sufficient to account for our inferiority to older countries, in learning and learned institutions, we

are constantly *reproached* for being so low in the scale; as if it were a voluntary, and even wilful degradation. This is an unfortunate specimen of Scottish logic.

The author, after admitting that sufficient provision is made in a great portion of the states for common schools, gives some account of our Academies. We concede to him, hat it is absurd to give this 'high sounding name,' to a great proportion of these incorporated institutions, and that many of them do not deserve it; but in some of them, we know that the classics are taught with accuracy, and in a manner tending to give the pupils as much taste for them, as at their early age, can usually be acquired. Our readers shall see what is said on this subject.

'In all that relates to classic learning, they [the academies] are totally deficient; there is not one, from Maine to Georgia, which has yet sent forth a single first rate scholar; no, not one since the settlement of the country, equal even to the most ordinary of the thirty or forty, which come out every year from Schule Pforta, and Meissen. It would not be unreasonable to say, that a boy in America, who is put to learn the ancient languages, loses his whole time, from the first moment he begins his Latin Accidence, till he takes his bachelor's degree—a period of eight or nine years, and those the most precious years of life. They are not merely lost—they do positive injury to the youth; those delectable studies, whose power it is, when properly felt, to form a pure and elegant taste, and polished mind, are looked upon as tasks, loathed, and at length laid aside forever. Thus the voice of inspiration is heard, and awakens not, and the most powerful means of intellectual regeneration, which learning can employ, leave the mind in a state of hopeless insensibility. This arises from bad masters, and a bad method of study. It is impossible for a man to teach what he does not understand himself, or to excite in others a taste, which he has never acquired. The remark may be applied to most of the instructers of the classic schools in America; they are mere language masters, not scholars; miners, who know the art of getting at the ore, but not of using it. But they are not without excuse; it cannot be expected that the masters should be good, as long as the system of education, which they are required to follow, is wholly defective. The object of learning is misunderstood in America, or rather, it is valued only as far as it is practically useful.'

Be it understood, that we do not pretend to claim for our best scholars an equality with those of England, proceeding

from their Universities and higher schools; nor, perhaps, even with those of Scotland; though the latter, when they have entered the lists with English scholars, we have sometimes seen smarting pretty severely, and writhing, with something of bitter anguish, from the stripes they have received. But such absurd exaggerations, and indiscriminate use of *totalities* as this passage contains, scarcely deserve a reply. Are there no such things as degrees in learning? Are the rules and maxims which apply to every thing else, so completely inapplicable here, that we are to conclude that whatever is not the best, is the worst that can be conceived? Besides, there is an inaccuracy and confusion in the writer's statement. He is speaking of what are here called Academies, when he says a boy loses his whole time, till he takes his bachelor's degree; leaving it to be inferred, that he receives his degree at the Academy. That the preparation made for College at some of our schools and academies is miserably defective, we are obliged to admit; and that the idle and the dull sometimes obtain degrees, which are wholly undeserved, is an equally lamentable truth. But that some of our Colleges afford the means of forming a good scholar, and that they are successfully used by a part of the students, it is impossible for us not to believe. If their circumstances and vocations in life are afterwards, in general, such as preclude their farther advancement, those are distinct considerations.

The object of our Colleges is to lay the foundation in different branches of valuable learning; and surely we cannot deem it a reproach to our system of education, nor think it greatly erroneous, if it is valued for its practical utility. We conceive that a classical education is an accomplishment for a gentleman, which he will never regret; and that it is in some degree practically useful to every professional man. Hence it is, that our Colleges would afford every one as much time and assistance in classical learning, as comports with other valuable parts of education. It will happen, that some, who have a taste for languages, will learn to read the classics with pleasure and tasteful discrimination, and that others will be satisfied with a tolerable knowledge of their daily tasks. It is true, that the same tasks are assigned for all, and it is done on the principle we have already mentioned. And though it is intended that all should have

enough to perform, yet we know that there is as much room for favouritism in the choice of studies, as in that of companions; and that a young man, whose inclination leads him to a particular pursuit, will be able to indulge it, without censurable negligence in other branches of study. This is analogous to the employments of manhood. With a moderate share of business, or duties, a man in either of the learned professions may persuade himself that he has enough to do; but even when crowded with professional avocations, if he have a genuine ardor in literature or science, foreign from his particular vocation, he will find time for gratifying his peculiar propensity. The analogy might be pursued much farther, if we were engaged in a mere speculative inquiry; but our illustrations we think are sufficient to show, that with all our reverence for classical learning, (for we mean ever to maintain its exalted worth) it is no unpardonable sin, that the students at our principal Colleges can find time and assistance to acquire, in addition to their proficiency in languages, what is 'practically useful.'

We have no acquaintance with '*Schule Pforta*, and *Meissen*;' though we do not hesitate to admit, that the persevering industry of the German scholars in their schools of every gradation, is carried farther than that of any other people. But such a rhetorical flourish as follows, namely, that a boy who is put to learn the ancient languages, loses, and worse than loses, his whole time, till he takes his bachelor's degree, is an hyperbole too bold to impose even on the most credulous. There is but one approved way of beginning to learn a dead language. Let the learner be a Dutch, an English, or an American boy, and let the motive proposed to him be what it may, it cannot be seriously maintained that he is won to his daily lessons by the beauties discovered in his grammar or dictionary. We have certainly heard of English boys being brought to their tasks by the birch and ferule, which are not the most winning ways, nor much less calculated to make the pupil look upon his 'delectable studies' as loathsome tasks, than is the prospect held out to him of being prepared for college, which seems to be viewed as a mean and sinful lure to ambition. Do what we will, the elements of education must be dry and uninteresting in themselves; and however refined the taste of the instructer may be, it can have little effect on the pupil, till he is grounded in

his grammar, has acquired a vocabulary of considérable extent, and begun to comprehend something of the idiom and phraseology of the language he is learning.

We are perfectly aware that the instructer may do much to inspire a taste in his pupils, as they advance in the study of the classics. But we are not ready to admit that nothing of this kind is successfully attempted in our own country. There are instances continually within our knowledge, of young men, who read the Latin classics with pleasure, and acquire such a discriminative taste in the idiom of the language, as to compose in it with as much propriety and taste, as are commonly to be found among the scholars of other countries. They may not indeed be as well drilled in prosody, and their memories are not stored with the same collection of favourite passages, which, in some foreign institutions, are committed for daily recitation. In every thing however which is most valuable in this kind of knowledge, whether it regards the understanding or the taste, we are perfectly confident, that there is, among ourselves, a continual succession of good scholars.

The shameless absurdities of the writer of these articles do not stop here. Not contented with the indiscriminate abuse of all our means of learning, he indulges in the same sweeping calumnies against the characters of our young men, who are acquiring a liberal education.

'To finish the picture of the seminaries of learning of the first rank in America, we must give a little sketch of the student's manner of life. The time not spent at the classes, is divided between eating and drinking, smoking and sleeping. Approach the door of one of their apartments at any hour of the day, you will be driven back from it, as you would from the cabin of a Dutch smack, by the thick volumes of stinking tobacco smoke, which it sends forth; should you dare enter, you will find half a dozen loungers in a state of oriental lethargy, each stretched out upon two or three chairs, with scarce any other indication of life in them than the feeble effort they make to keep up the fire of their *cigars*. We know that there are other countries besides America, in which the habit of smoking prevails; but there are surely no other Christian ones, in which it is an employment, and a substitute for all occupations, as it is there. In Holland and in Germany students smoke full as much, but then they study at the same time. In the American colleges, it is the source of

an hundred evils, of waste of time, of drinking, of ill health, of clownish manners, and, above all, of a habitual stupor of mind, that gradually destroys its faculties.'

Every one who has taken the least pains to inform himself, must know, that wherever there are from two to three hundred young men collected together for study, there will be some idle, and others both idle and vicious. This and nothing more is true of our colleges. The loathsome picture which is here drawn in gross caricature, in which are grouped together the whole body of our youth, at the public seminaries, contains just enough of truth to work up the writer's fancy to this alarming height. It is akin to those fictions of travellers among us, which, if it were not for the excess of human credulity, would be merely amusing; but which, when we find them credited, and quoted to our reproach, excite a just indignation. We cannot believe that men of sound judgment will long suffer themselves to be imposed upon by this loose, generalizing process; this induction of universals from a few individual examples, either in regard to national characteristics, or to the state of learning and morals in our literary institutions. It is time for foreigners to become more suspicious of the idle stories they are continually hearing concerning their brethren of these states, and to make those reasonable abatements, which are prompted by a liberal mind, and an impartial judgment. What false and extravagant opinions might we not form concerning the people and the institutions of foreign countries, were we to collect our data in the same unjust and partial manner, which has been pursued of late by English travellers and journalists?

So far as the charges brought against the students of our colleges are true, they are much to be deplored. We do not mean to speak of them as matters at all indifferent. That young men from fifteen to one and twenty should acquire a habit of smoking, so injurious to health, and so liable to lead to intemperate drinking, is truly lamentable, wherever it exists. The degree of smoking among young and old students in our seminaries may, perhaps, be about one fourth as great, as among the same number and description of persons 'in Holland and in Germany.' Even this ratio, which probably exceeds the amount, we could wish to see very much reduced; and, if we have been rightly informed, the

practice of smoking, like every thing else, affected by the fluctuations of fashion, is on the decline, we hope a rapid one, in our University. Certain it is, if this institution is affected by the state of society around it, the habit of which we are speaking, must have diminished to a very great degree, within a few years.

In the description of the means of education which our country furnishes, we find the following account of the public libraries.

'The last subject of importance connected with education is libraries. These are, for the most part, pitiful; the largest in the country is that of Harvard college, which is now said to contain 25,000 volumes; six or eight years since, it had little more than half that number, and this rapid increase affords a pleasing proof of the improving state of the institution. Next in consequence is that of Philadelphia, being the City and the Logan libraries united, which make together, about 20,000 volumes. The Boston Athenæum library has 12,000, and the Philadelphia about 6,000. Beside these, the remaining public libraries are those of the other colleges, which are all inconsiderable, from 8,000 down to a few hundred; those of the literary and scientific societies, none of which are important enough to be particularly mentioned; and, lastly, the social libraries, as they are called, being small collections of books, made up in the country towns by subscription, which are about equal in value and number to those nicely matched octodecimos, that are put into a gilt and laquered box for children, and distinguished by the name of a juvenile library. These out of the question (for it is quite impossible to calculate their number, and they are always a kind of books of no importance to a scholar,) all the other public libraries of every kind do not contain above 150,000 volumes, of which not more than 30,000 are distinct works; for, as they form so many different libraries, they are, of course, made up of multiplied copies of the same. This then is the whole compass of learning, which the most favoured American scholar has to depend upon. It is uncertain what is the number of books now extant in all languages; we have used a library of 250,000 volumes, which contained no duplicate, and it was so perfect, that it was difficult to ask for an author not to be found in it. The largest library in Europe contains nearly 400,000 volumes, duplicates not included, and perhaps it may be about right to estimate the whole number of printed books in the world at 500,000. This being the case, America furnishes about one-seventeenth of the means necessary for extending learning to the utmost, and about one-thirteenth of

what the city of Paris alone affords. Another comparison will shew her poverty in a manner equally striking. Germany contains 30 millions of people, who have 2 millions of books in public libraries for their instruction, exclusive of those of the sovereigns and princes, which are always accessible to scholars. America contains 10 millions of people, who have 150 thousand books for the same purpose. But the two millions in Germany are more read than the 150 thousand in America, and the result of the comparison will form the second part of our subject.'

This account we presume is numerically correct, or as nearly so as is necessary. Nor is it surprising that our public libraries are not larger, when we consider their age, and the disadvantages under which the books have been accumulated. The library of Harvard College is little more than half a century old; for in the year 1764, it was entirely consumed by fire. Previously to that period it contained many valuable books, and in some instances, perhaps, the loss has never been repaired. It would be extremely difficult, at this period, to collect a library of the same size which would be equally as valuable, as that which now belongs to Harvard College. Owing in part to the munificence of Hollis, a great *virtuoso*, it contains more scarce and curious books than are to be found in any other library in America. What is now chiefly wanting, is a large collection of English books, upon almost all subjects; for so inconsiderable are the funds appropriated to the increase of the library, that, for many years, there has been a most deplorable deficiency in this particular. It is some consolation to know, that nothing but money is wanting to supply this defect, and to hope that the time is not very distant, when there will be no farther cause of lamentation or complaint on this subject.

In regard to the libraries of the other colleges, a rapid increase of books could not be expected. They are either situated in parts of the country, where there is not much wealth, or in small states, where there is little public munificence; or they have been so recently founded, that they could not be furnished with greater collections of books, consistently with other demands on their funds.

The Athenæum library, in Boston, which owes so much to the exertions of an individual, is an instance, perhaps unexampled, of the rapid accumulation of books, in a town of the same population. The collection too is of the most val-

uable kind, and remarkable for neatness and beauty. There are other libraries, of a similar kind, in several large cities and towns in the United States, which show, that, whatever scantiness there may be in respect to original productions, we are far from being indifferent to the advancement of learning. Though our means of knowledge are not so ample as could be wished, yet we object to the fallacious calculations and results of the writer who falls under our notice, when he seems to estimate learning by a ratio corresponding to the number of books at the command of scholars. To say nothing of a host of authors almost worthless, during the whole history of learning, thousands of books concerning the arts and sciences are rendered useless, by those discoveries and changes, which leave nothing interesting, but what relates merely to the history of those arts and sciences, which may be found in any Cyclopædia. Add to this, the endless repetitions in a succession of authors, upon the same subject, which Sterne facetiously calls 'pouring out of one vessel into another,' and the show of precision in the calculation is still more deceptive. We are very far from being reconciled to our poverty; but we wish it to appear no greater than it is. Our sensibility on this subject has already been manifested, (and we would fain excite the same feeling in the public,) when speaking of our university. Still her wants we would not exaggerate, nor attempt to estimate them by the precise number of books in which she is deficient. But while she so liberally extends the use of what she possesses, we cannot doubt that her liberality will soon be rewarded, by an increase of her stores.

The general remarks upon learning, in the second paper, whose title is prefixed to this article, are substantially true, and by no means derogatory. Learning does not constitute among us a distinct profession. No scholar, after he has obtained his degree, is supported by any endowments at our colleges, merely that he may make it his business to furnish himself with literary and scientific knowledge, with the chance that he may afterwards turn it to account, and repay the patronage, by the honour he may reflect on his patron. For this luxury of letters we have not sufficient wealth. Our forefathers brought with them their share of the learning of their country, and made such provision for that of their children, as their means admitted, or their neccesities re-

quired. In successive periods there have been continually learned men in all the professions, and able men in every department of public life; and on every occasion which called for distinguished talents, such talents have been displayed. What more could be expected of a country less than two centuries old,—a country in which overgrown estates are hardly known, and, if they are acquired, are generally reduced to several competent fortunes, by being soon divided among a number of heirs? Sinecures are unknown in our institutions, whether political or literary; and no man is allowed to fill a place in which it is not intended to occupy his time with its duties. From these various causes it happens, that our young men, before they receive a bachelor's degree, generally fix on a profession, or some active pursuit. The professorships in our colleges are few; and fellowships are not known, except we give this name to the few foundations for those who are pursuing their theological studies, at some of our public seminaries. So infrequent is the demand for new professors, though it is now an increasing one, that a young man of talents never has any reference in his studies to a remote probability of becoming one of the number, and consequently his pursuits are directed to what is thought most useful, in regard to the profession of his choice. This circumstance, we apprehend, will account, in part, for the remark in the close of the following extract.

'The professors in the Universities form the only body of men of letters, and from them alone could learned works be reasonably expected. But their situation, it will be recollected, is not like that of professors in this country; instead of half or more of the year in vacations, they have but a small portion of it; their duties are more laborious, being divided among a much smaller number; they have no good libraries to consult, and, above all, they are obliged to work through life, to repair the defects of early education.'

Whoever is acquainted with the manner in which the instruction and discipline of our colleges is conducted, must know that a great part of the time of the professors is consumed in private duties; and so far are they from leading a life of ease, or even learned leisure, that they are generally employed with their classes to the exclusion of any great literary undertakings, to which their own choice might di-

rect them. They are obliged to give public as well as private lectures, and the former embrace the results of their principal and appropriate studies. Most of the business of the lecturers here, as well as every where else, consists in combining, arranging, and elucidating what is already known, in a manner, as they think, best adapted to their pupils. Those therefore who have held the office of a professor for a few years, have materials for books, which might perhaps do something to facilitate the acquisition of learning or science, in the several departments in which they are engaged. The public sometimes demands proofs of the learned labours of professors in the colleges, and sometimes obtains them; but the proofs must be sought chiefly in the improvement of those who receive instruction, for whose immediate benefit it is intended, and who are in general the only witnesses, whose testimony can be procured.

Concerning the comparative insignificance of our libraries, and the defects of early education, we have already made some remarks. We could wish that no reply were necessary, in either of these particulars. In regard to the first, we have said all that we intend; and in respect to the last, our previous explanation accounts in a great measure for the alleged defects, and takes away much of the seeming reproach attached to them. The method recently adopted in several colleges of electing professors, who promised by their devotion to learning and science to fill the offices to which they were appointed with distinguished ability, and giving them opportunity to make preparation for their particular duties before entering upon them, augurs well for the advancement of knowledge, and relieves those officers from part of the great pressure of responsibility, which is felt by those who, without long previous expectation, have been called to fill stations, whose immediate duties demand the whole of their time.

The next subject of importance to which the writer adverts, is that of the learned professions; and, notwithstanding the barbarous state of education among us, we are allowed in these to have attained to no small degree of eminence and distinction. His liberality is particularly manifested in speaking of law and medicine.

'The bar is the profession, which attracts the greatest number and the highest talents, and notwithstanding the wretched state

of preparation, in which most young men are when called to it, the country may well boast of the lawyers it has produced. In this profession, the deficiencies of education must be made up by after diligence; no man can attain to a high rank in it without legal learning; in spite of all the prejudices of the country, and the general disposition to reduce the system of jurisprudence to a few maxims of common sense, the common law of England remains, for the most part, the law of the land; and a knowledge of that, every one knows, cannot be acquired without laborious study, by the mere force of genius, however great. In all the states where this system still continues in force, we find a learned bar; and, although the lawyers entitled to this distinction are few, these few are eminently so; and, to prove it, we refer to the common law reports of the cases adjudged in the courts of final jurisdiction in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. In some of the states, the issue of a suit depends chiefly upon the jury, and then the pleas of the counsel are of course rather appeals to popular feeling, than legal arguments; these are admirable schools, in which to acquire a readiness of extemporaneous speaking, and great powers of that kind are often displayed in them; but as courts of justice, they deserve not to be named. The learning of the American bar has been displayed principally in their courts; and the only written evidence of it is contained in the reports. Blackstone's Commentaries, and many other of the English elementary treatises, have been reprinted in the country, with notes, pointing out the alterations or modifications of the English law by their statutes. The civil law is not used at all, and not studied but by a very small number of curious scholars; and, in general, the English books are the only authorities cited, except in the admirality courts, where the early Italian, Spanish, French, and Dutch writers upon maritime law are often referred to. It is difficult to draw a just parallel between the American and English bars, for two reasons; *first*, because in the former, the various departments of legal business are united in the same individual; and, *secondly*, because their period of preparatory study is much shorter, and their means and system of education greatly inferior; if proper allowance be made for these disadvantages, the first class of lawyers in America may be considered equal to the same class in England, in point of legal learning, and superior in extemporaneous speaking. We need not repeat what we stated so explicitly in the first division of our subject, that the well educated lawyers form but a small part of the whole number; it is of this small part that we have been speaking, and upon them the whole character and credit of the bar must rest.'

That the profession of law for a number of years included more than its share of men of talents is probably true, though, at present, we believe the distribution among the different professions, in this respect, is sufficiently equal; and we can point out, in all, a great number of men of distinguished and appropriate abilities for their several vocations. Young men who are ambitious of political distinction, and who feel confidence in their power of obtaining it, sometimes pursue the study of the law as a preparation for public life; but the greater part of our most profound and learned lawyers regard the allurements of common political distinctions with much indifference, and take more pride in that eminence which pertains to the profession of their choice. Public employments, therefore, are seldom of their own seeking; but, when great occasions demand their services, there is generally discernment enough in the government and the people to call them into action, and patriotism enough, in the individuals selected, to obey the summons. It is not, we presume, peculiar to this country, that the most eminent class in any profession constitutes but a small part of the whole. Excellence is every where comparative, and, where many are engaged in the same pursuit, the rivalries for the highest place are confined to a few. In each of the professions, in every country, the great mass are contented with mediocrity, knowing that all cannot be first, and that *they* have not the capacity or the energy to rise to that distinction. On the whole therefore, though the writer, who has occasioned these remarks, aims to say every thing good concerning us, with as many qualifications and deductions as possible, yet we do not see, if we interpret all the parts in consistency with each other, how he can refrain from the inference, that the character of the legal profession stands as high in this, as in our parent country.

The writer next adverts to the connexion between the bar and the Senate, and 'considers the character of the latter.'

'No country ever had occasion for a greater proportion of statesmen, and in none was political education ever less attended to. Three thousand five hundred legislators are constantly required for the general and state governments; and, in the whole country, there is not a course of lectures, either upon their own constitutions, the law of nations, political economy, statistics, or history, and very little public instruction of any

kind in these important departments of science and learning. The bar is the school in which the greatest, and almost the only requisite for a statesman is acquired, fluency in speaking. Want of the necessary knowledge is not the greatest evil arising from the want of proper political education; a far greater one is, that men who have been pursuing a profession for a long time, are very apt to have their minds somewhat narrowed by it, and are therefore not capable of taking such extensive views as politicians, as ought to be done by those, who are legislating for the whole community, and not for a particular class of it. Notwithstanding this defect, the Congress of the United States has generally been distinguished for the wisdom of its political measures, and always for a large proportion of powerful and eloquent speakers.'

What more could be said of any government on the face of the earth? And of what consequence is it, if political wisdom be acquired, whether its elements be first learned at the schools, or whether it be obtained more fully by solitary study, and the intellectual resources of individuals? If those who are called to legislate, and to administer the laws, are competent to their stations, and evince their wisdom by their enactment and executive acts, and all this too, in spite of supposed disadvantages, and of neglected education, it either argues that remarkable intuitive wisdom which forms for itself important axioms and results, without the distraction which arises from perpetual inquiry, and from conning abstract theories, and from applying cases of doubtful application to those which may seem to be analogous; or it manifests that capacity for acquiring and using political information, which shews that no great early preparation is essential to form politicians, who will thus spring up, as it were, spontaneously, whenever occurring exigencies may require. Such, nearly, has been the history of politicians and political learning in our own country. A few elementary treatises have been prescribed to students, in the course of their academic education, such as afford that instruction which belongs to every gentleman, who would acquire general information; but it is true in most cases, that our politicians are such by accident; that they are self-taught, and that they prepare themselves for service as occasions offer. In a government like ours, it would be no mark of wisdom to create mechanical politicians, who might never be wanted. Nor can we expect much systematic exertion of this

kind while necessity does not seem to urge it. Whoever will take the pains to review our legislative journals, our state papers, our diplomatic correspondence from the time that we were first obliged to claim the rights of Englishmen, and afterwards declared ourselves an independent people, to the present period, will find no deficiency either of ability or of political learning. The praise of eloquence too is extorted, which, though 'wild and unpruned,' 'is as rich and luxuriant as the vegetation upon the great rivers of the west.' This does indeed characterize our eloquence in part; but it is as various as our climate, and as the local differences of temperment and character in the citizens of the different portions of our immense territory; partaking too of the respective advantages enjoyed for the refinement imparted by education. Sometimes it glitters with all those rhetorical ornaments which receive their polish from the hand of taste, and sometimes with such as have all the rudeness of nature. Again it appears in the plain and forcible argumentation and inferences of sound logic; and at other times it blazes with the fervour of passion, and is exhibited in the splendour of heated declamation. Such is the freedom of debate, that the speaker is embarrassed by little external restraint, and the natural and peculiar workings of the mind in the most distinguished speakers, on great occasions, are manifestly displayed.

In regard to the medical profession we differ so little from the writer, that we shall pass to that of theology.

Speaking of the clerical profession he says,

'Its comparative decline has been very great for the last twenty years, and it must be still greater for the future, unless some change should be made to place it more upon an equality with law and medicine; and how this could be done, it would be difficult to say;—there are no orders of clergy, and hence there can be no hope of preferment to act upon the ambitious, and no promise of leisure to tempt the scholar. Itinerant preachers are continually gaining upon the educated clergy, even in New England, where the people are the soberest, and in the other states they have almost succeeded in extirpating them. If farther proof be necessary that the profession is losing its attractions for young men of talent, the fact, that the only parishes now sought for, or accepted by such, are those of the cities, affords a conclusive one; and a stronger even than this is shewn by the records of the

annual academic degrees ; Harvard College first conferred degrees in 1642 ; for the next succeeding eighty-eight years, one half of the whole number educated there entered the church ; but, during the last equal period of time, the proportion has been only one out of five. To confirm this fact, we refer to the catalogue of the graduates, in which the clergy are printed in Italics. This picture must be particularly pleasing to the admirers of the anti-church establishment system ; and it was for their gratification that we sketched it. We now return to the subject, which more properly belongs to us here to consider, and proceed to give an account of the state of learning among the clergy. Critical learning was not introduced into the study of theology, until within a very few years. The old American divines, notwithstanding their superiority to the modern, as classical scholars, relied entirely upon the English version of the Scriptures, and English commentators. Of late the German system has prevailed, and the doctrine of inspiration being now renounced by many, the Bible is subjected to the common rules of criticism, and hence must be studied in the original languages. The character of the leading clergy is therefore essentially changed ; theological controversy, which was heretofore purely metaphysical, is now reduced to mere biblical criticism ; their learning is more exclusively professional ; and their sermons more in the style of exegetical lectures. This applies particularly to the Unitarians ; the orthodox clergy are not so learned, but they retain more of the old stamp ; their tendency, however, is the same way, as all the new theological schools now adopt this system of critical inquiry.'

Two things are obscurely blended in the first part of this statement, which in themselves are perfectly distinct ; namely, that the clergy constitute a smaller proportion of the educated men than formerly, and that they are men of less talents, than their predecessors. It must be recollected that Harvard College was for many years the only one in this new world ; that the number of its graduates was exceedingly small; that a principal design of its establishment was to provide religious teachers ; that population was very sparse in proportion to its local extension ; and consequently that most parishes or churches consisted of a small collection of people. Thus we can easily account for the number of clergy being less than formerly in proportion to the whole number of graduates, without so great an effect being produced by sectarian and itinerant preachers upon the congregational churches in the older parts of New England, as would be inferred from the passage we have cited.

We should not have discovered, without going across the Atlantic for the information, that the clerical profession has ceased to embrace its proportion of men of talents, or that 'the only parishes now sought for, or accepted by young men of talent, are those of the cities.' In consequence of a remarkable succession of vacancies in the Boston churches for several years past, a proportion of ministers has there been required far exceeding that which can generally be wanted; and it is to be expected that these churches will command the most distinguished candidates for the sacred office. But it is a calumny, wholly unmerited by the rest of our clergy, to say that all the professional talents are confined to the cities, as they are called. We know the contrary to be true, and regret that any one should attempt to practise upon foreign credulity by such a partial account, and one which indicates so little knowledge of facts. Equally destitute of evidence is the implied assertion, that the clerical profession includes a less proportion of men of talents, than in times past; for if we except our scholars who come from the south, who are out of the question, because they have never chosen this vocation, we are so far from believing that there has been any material and constant change in this respect, unfavourable to the profession; that, according to our best judgment, it has been rather gaining for some past years.

Something is said concerning the superiority of the old American divines to the modern as classical scholars. This superority may be real or it may be imaginary; no proofs of it are given, nor do we know whence they are to be drawn. But, according to what follows, it seems that the classical learning of the old divines was almost a useless accomplishment; for, it is said, they relied entirely on the English version of the Scriptures, and English commentators, and that theological controversy, which was heretofore purely metaphysical, is now reduced to mere biblical criticism. It is not true that theological controversy is, or ever has been, confined either to the one, or the other. The writer before us has a great contempt of asserting any thing with qualifications. We presume he thinks that this is the office of a little mind, and that there is something much more great, and elevated, and imposing in the method he has adopted. Still there is not a little of the marvellous in the change, and in the circumstances of the change, declared to have taken place in theo-

logical inquiries. That the most distinguished scholars, as were the old divines, should pay no regard to the original languages of the Scriptures, and that their successors, though such degenerate scholars, should recur to those languages constantly, and apply to them all their philological learning and critical acumen, would seem to demand much proof in order to become credible. But such are not the facts. Biblical criticism here, as in the older countries, has become constantly an object of more attention; but there never has been a time when the study of the original languages of the bible has been thought of little consequence. Nor, on the other hand, did metaphysical theology expire after the birth and rapid growth of critical; the former has still a powerful sway, and is employed in strengthening our creeds, and fortifying polemics of every belief.

The following recapitulation is given of the remarks on the clerical profession:

'From the views we have now taken, it appears that the whole number of religious teachers in America is but about half what is requisite for the population—that of these, three-fifths are ignorant, deluded fanatics, who possess almost exclusively one great portion of the country—that the proportion of regular clergy is diminishing and the profession daily becoming less respectable—and that the spirit of controversy and sectarism extends to all classes, who interest themselves at all in religion. Massachusetts and Connecticut generally, and several of the cities in the other states, are still favoured with a respectable, and, for the most part, well-instructed clergy, but the residue of the land is a prey to delusion.'

In the older states, or in those parts of them that were early peopled, the regular clergy are neither diminishing, nor becoming less respectable. The population in many portions is stationary; but where it is increasing, and the parishes have become too large, they are frequently divided, and provision is made for another minister. In the District of Maine, and part of New York, and in the Western States, where every thing is comparatively new, where the population is scattered, and consists of individuals so diverse and opposite, that there are few kindred ties which unite them sufficiently to act together, the inhabitants are obliged to depend on itinerant preachers for what public, religious instruc-

tion they can obtain. These preachers are said to amount to three fifths of the whole number. Many of them, we are fully persuaded, are well calculated for the service in which they are engaged, and produce a salutary influence in the sphere in which they move. At any rate it is calling very hard names, in the gross, to denominate them all, 'ignorant, deluded fanatics.' The body of preachers, thus branded, are methodists. They are not learned, and many of them are apt to undervalue and decry learning and learned theologians; but this is not their universal character. We have known exceptions in our own vicinity; and where they are remote from learned clergymen, and there are no interfering interests, it is probable that they are sparing of their invectives and contemptuous reflections. 'The spirit of controversy and sectarism' (or the choice and vindication of our own sect) which is said to prevail among us, we conceive to be in no degree peculiar to this country; for it belongs to all people, who enjoy any freedom of inquiry, and whose consciences are not in the keeping of a tyrannical or superstitious clergy. If a bitter spirit is meant to be implied, this also is not peculiar; but the manifestation of this spirit is only occasional and partial, and as far as our knowledge extends, it is tending to amelioration, and has already been softened.

Some of the subjects of the papers we are examining have been passed over, in order to include our remarks within reasonable limits; and we have not time to speak particularly of what remains, namely, the productions of literature, science, and art, which are enumerated and commented upon. According to the writer's own showing, taken in connexion with the age and circumstances of the country, we are so far from being ashamed of what has been done, or of what has not been done, that we rejoice in the promise given, by that which has already been accumulated, of increasing treasures. No evil forebodings disturb our minds respecting the advancement of learning and science, or ultimate success in works of genius and taste. None of these things are out of sight, or regarded with general indifference; and there is much more literature and science in our country, than the number and variety of original books indicate. Some of our Edinburgh friends, who compliment us with their attention, tell us that we have enough to do at

present, if we attend to our business, and occupy our lands, by extending our population to the Pacific Ocean; and that after our territory is peopled, it will be time for our poets to appear. We wish for no such apologies, nor distant foresight from them; nor should we be at all astonished if they should be disappointed.

As to productions of literature and taste, with a few exceptions, this is in an age rather of critics and compilers, than of original genius. We hear perpetual and just complaints of bookmaking from our brother journalists of England and Scotland, and we would not do any thing to increase the cause of complaint. And though we do not claim for any of our poets a place with Campbell, and Byron, and Scott, yet we see frequent indications of native poetic genius, and tasteful cultivation, which sustain our hopes of more exalted lays, in times not far distant.

We have no desire to see any elaborate and voluminous vindications of our country, in answer to the querulous faultfinding of foreign critics and foreign travellers. Confident that they cannot long impose upon the most intelligent and impartial class of society abroad, we would rather wait for our vindication, as the result of becoming better known, and more fairly estimated. Vague predictions and dreams of future greatness are of little value, and therefore we shall not communicate our own; but that our country is far, very far from moral or literary degradation, is the sober conviction of our waking moments. Sometimes we are apt to feel impatient, that more is not accomplished, and that the learned labours of our countrymen do not make more show in the literary world; but again we are consoled by knowing that literature and science, besides being cultivated by those from whom such cultivation is expected, form a part of the occupation of men in various callings, and that patrons of valuable learning are often found among those, who make no pretensions to it themselves. We dismiss these papers with the single remark, that, if the author be a citizen of the United States, we wish he may be better employed than he can be in exaggerating the defects of his countrymen, and gratifying the spleen of foreign sciolists, at the expense of those who have higher claims to his regard.

ART. XIV.—*Rambles in Italy, in the years* 1816....17. *By an American.* pp. 371. Baltimore, 1818.

IN this book there is such a variety of matter and want of method, that though we have read it through very assiduously, we believe that we have forgotten much that is worth remembering; and we fear that our reflections upon it have contracted something of the same vague and desultory character. We know few works which would better serve as illustrations of the doctrine of the association of ideas. Many of our author's chapters are in fact all episode; his imagination seems to return to the main story by compulsion only. Thus the view of the Villa Pamfili in Rome naturally leads his reflections to Ermenonville in France; and this again,—after a very copious description,—to several Italian verses from the Jerusalem Delivered, descriptive of the gardens of Armida. A traveller, like a reviewer, has indubitably the right of making one subject the occasion and excuse for another; but we think these remarks necessary to preserve our readers from the disappointment which we ourselves suffered, in finding so much more of rambling than of Italy.

Our author alleges in his preface, that he can say little new, because (among other reasons) Italy has been fully and faithfully described by Eustace. To us, this is at least as novel a fact as any contained in the work; but allowing for a moment the correctness of the excuse, for we do not mean to impeach our author's veracity, we regret that his book should be in so many places almost a copy of Eustace's descriptions. From a similar admiration of Madame De Stael, he is led to imitate frequently, and generally without success, her fanciful speculations. He has a great deal of exquisitely nice reasoning, many trains of thought above the sphere of common understandings, if not beyond the bounds of common sense, and an abundance of what is often called fine writing. But we can trust ourselves no longer in retracing the mazes of his 'forests of no meaning.' His style is too ambitious. His sentences must be figurative and harmonious, and are often interspersed and rounded off with quotations neither new nor appropriate. Among all the charms of Italy, none seems to have engrossed his thoughts more than the language; and Italian phrases form a considerable portion of almost every page. We might object to this circumstance on our own account;

but we know that it will be an additional recommendation to many of his countrymen, whose extraordinary (we may say incredible) proficiency in foreign languages often in a few months obliterates much of their own from their memory, and obliges them (no doubt greatly against their own desire) to employ French or Italian expressions on the most ordinary occasions. Having thus mentioned a few of our objections to this author, we acknowledge with pleasure that we think his faults abundantly outweighed by several remarks, strikingly original and practical, and still more by the general tone of his moral and national reflections. His defects are evidently the result rather of a perversion, than of a want of genius. We select the following from a large number of passages, as a proof of the originality, perspicuity and justness of his observations, when he can forget Eustace, and Madame de Stael, and the Italian Poets, when he is willing to think for himself, to speak in his own tongue and in plain prose.

'The Appenines have been often traversed, and their scenery repeatedly described. But few travellers in passing them have been sufficiently at their ease to feel those sublime beauties, which belong to nature in these elevated and sequestered regions. The result of my inquries concerning them was, generally, that the roads over them were dangerous, the atmosphere cold, and the inns detestable. How attentive we ought to be to the weaknesses and deficiencies of our own minds, who undertake to describe a country; and of all the sources of error to which we are exposed, there is none, the influence of which ought to be so strenuously resisted, as of those by which the decisions of taste are likely to be affected. A bare description of facts, however interesting it may be to the geologist, the natural historian and the botanist, afford but an imperfect idea of a country. It cannot express that moral charm, nor exhibit those general features of external beauty, which, as they are among the most pleasing, so they are the most essential traits, by which nations and countries are characterized. There are few persons, whose taste is wholly exempt from the influence of local and accidental associations, but there are many, who see no beauty in a country, that does not afford smooth roads and good taverns. In America we laugh at the petulant remarks, respecting our own country, of foreigners, whom an unlucky bottle of wine, or a cross landlord, has sent away displeased with every thing they saw. I have known a traveller at Rome, positively refuse to visit *Tivoli*, in consequence of the account which he received of the bad accom-

modations at the inn, and numerous instances might be adduced, where the prospect of an indifferent dinner has been sufficient to cloud the bright skies of Italy, and to throw a shade over its classic scenes.' pp. 247—249.

But highly as we estimate our author's genius, we could dwell with still greater pleasure on his feelings and principles. He never loses sight of his country, and she is often recalled to his thoughts by those very allurements, among which, if any where, she might be excusably forgotten.

We trust that these frequent effusions of a rational and ardent patriotism, would alone furnish all the remuneration that our countrymen could desire, for perusing the whole of the 'rambles;' but we refer more particularly to the remarks in the Introduction, on the comparative charms of the scenery of Italy and America. He has, indeed, in our opinion, rather overrated the beauties of the Italian landscape; particularly when he ascribes to the atmosphere the power of giving a peculiar lustre to the heavenly bodies; but as we believe that he felt all that he says, we consider him entitled to additional credit, for turning with so evident a pleasure to the contemplation of a country like ours,—a country abounding in immense districts that display no ornaments but those of nature, and no ravages but those of time. The selection of such a subject is indeed in itself a public service, which well deserves our gratitude.

It is but lately that we have learned to contemplate our own scenery; and we recollect no previous attempt by any of our countrymen, to illustrate it by a comparison with that of European regions. Our author has, we think, met, in this part of the work, with the success which he deserved for his patriotism alone. Indeed we consider the bare publication of these Rambles, without any reference to their intrinsic merit, as a fortunate circumstance; for the narrations of American travellers are at present necessarily valuable for their direct tendency to excite, among our countrymen, a closer attention to the general objects and effects of visiting foreign nations. There is no part of modern education on which the ideas of men, in this country at least, are so indefinite. It is surprising that its benefits and disadvantages have been so seldom accurately estimated and compared, whether we consider the frequency with which the subject occurs, its high and unquestionable importance, or the num-

ber of eminent men of all ages, qualified to do it justice, not only by their talents, but by actual and ample experience. But it is equally natural, that opinions on a subject so slightly investigated, should be contradictory as well as vague; that many should deny altogether the utility of travelling; and that others of a contrary opinion should suppose that they sum up all that can be adduced in its favour, in an observation by no means unfrequent, that every young man should indulge his desire of visiting foreign countries, in order to be certain that it was not worth his while.

What then are the real advantages of travelling?—for we do not consider the mere gratification of an idle and self-created curiosity, as deserving of the name. We are told in the few scanty and scattered remarks which we can collect from books, that they are information and amusement in general. These objects, it must be acknowledged, however important, are much too indefinite to be ever present to the traveller and to inspire him with a lively and constant interest. This is a truth, which we think might be deduced from the general laws of the human mind, and to which those who have explored foreign regions are generally too well qualified to bear witness by a tardy experience. Those who value either their immediate pleasure or their eventful success, should direct their attention from the very commencement of their tour to some single important purpose. This should be the 'motive, guide, original and end' of every effort, the central luminary of their whole system of thought. This will inspire them with new energy in the formation and the execution of all their decisions, will concentrate and preserve those reflections, which would be scattered and forgotten, will render definite those which would be vague, and create a thousand which would otherwise be wanting. Let those, then, whose course is guided and limited by no professional or commercial projects, consider themselves as particularly the servants of the public, and let the advancement of the literature, the science, or the arts of their country, constitute not only the ultimate but the immediate object of their wishes, hopes, and designs.

Nor let it be said, that, in exhorting the traveller to attempt something for the improvement of his countrymen, we are proposing what is too far beyond his reach to excite constant and strenuous exertion. With our countrymen at

least, the end is as practicable, as the attempt is elevated. In a community like ours, rendered so susceptible of farther instruction by the diffusion of some degree of information through all its classes, where no distinction is known but that which results from education, where the means of improvement, though not yet collected into our public institutions, are often largely possessed by individuals, the dissemination of useful knowledge, in every possible manner, is the duty of every citizen singly, and the obligation to its performance is not greater than the encouragement. With our national age and general information, there is daily increasing a willingness to profit by the experience of other communities; a spirit which has ever proved the sure source of public prosperity, both in ancient and modern times; which led the Romans to make the whole world a school for their instruction, and thus extend the bounds of their knowledge, with those of their conquests; which has impelled Great Britain to borrow and improve most of those useful arts, to which she now owes her very existence.

We would impress the traveller not with an extravagant opinion of his powers, but with a proper value for his advantages, and we are assured that the benefits of his researches, if neither retained through indolence, nor communicated with arrogance, must inevitably be extended far beyond himself. In these observations on the proper objects of travelling, we fear that we have deserved the charge, not of suggesting any crude and extravagant speculations, but of reiterating trite and self-evident maxims. Yet obvious as they may be, so far from constantly influencing the practice of our citizens, they seem to have seldom excited their serious reflections. How else could it be that while we hear so often of the direct proportion between the benefits resulting from a foreign tour, and the information with which it is commenced, while it is allowed that to a complete traveller, as to a complete orator, no species of knowledge is useless, and that his previous studies should be limited only by his time, while many of the requisite preparations are so well understood that we forbear to mention them,—there should be one, which, indispensable as it is to the attainment of the object we have suggested, is rarely recommended and still more rarely sought,—an acquaintance with some of the leading characteristics of his own country? We believe, that,

previous to their departure for Europe, few (we might almost say none) of our young men are acquainted in any considerable degree with the most prominent circumstances of our national condition, with our geographical features, our physical and moral resources, with our actual progress in the useful arts or even with the principles of our constitution, few and simple as they are. Our knowledge of these is generally confined to such facts as are accidentally gained in conversation, or periodically recalled on public occasions. An extended acquaintance with our own annals is an acquisition, which we should suppose would be valued more than it is, were it only for its rarity.

Our historical reading is generally pursued in a chronological order; the course of our knowledge is the reverse of that of our feelings, and begins at the edge of the circle, of which our home is the centre, and we are better acquainted with almost every age and country, than with those in which we live. For these points, on which knowledge is most important, and ignorance most inexcusable, we seem to suppose that there will always be time, and that we shall one day become thoroughly acquainted with them, (it matters little when,) by a sort of fatality. Yet, however ardent the desire of travellers to promote their country's benefit, however thorough their acquaintance with her advantages and her wants, their researches will be but slightly beneficial either to her or to themselves, unless directed by a chastened and discriminating curiosity. Our young men generally set out on their foreign excursions with the determination of leaving nothing unseen, and the hope of combining in a single tour all the advantages of every one who has gone before them. They must explore every object which has been accidentally recommended to their attention, either in books or in conversation, which has captivated their youthful imaginations by casual associations, no matter how insignificant their origin; and are frequently led to traverse extensive and uninteresting regions by the bare music of a name. This whimsical impulse is often dignified by the title of enthusiasm, and perverts the traveller's judgement in investigating as well as in selecting the objects of his attention, by rendering him ever more willing to be deceived than disappointed. Since too it is as shortlived as it is fervid, it often leads to the opposite extreme, and impels him, after wast-

ing his powers on objects of little importance or transient interest, to devote only a languid attention to those of real moment, or perhaps to leave off his travels precisely where he should begin them. This feeling is, indeed, only the result of the common neglect of young men to acquire such extensive and accurate ideas of the countries which they propose to explore, as would enable them to affix to every subject its due relative value.

Few, if any, set out with a just impression of the number and variety of the objects of attention contained in older countries, and the comparative shortness of their time, and weakness of their memory. They have generally yet to learn that the mere gratification of the passion for novelty should be the smallest part of the end proposed; that the superiority of one traveller over another is owing, not to any difference between their routes, for these are often nearly the same; still less to a few trifling diversities, which have arisen from accidental circumstances;—but to their different proficiency in habits of cool and vigilant observation; and that he, who would render his tour productive of any thing more than a selfish and transient gratification, should accustom himself not only to notice facts, but to draw conclusions. In this respect men are too apt to suffer their minds to be merely passive, and instead of making the information which they have collected in their excursions, the foundation of frequent, close, and systematic deductions, to trust to the improvement, which they derive insensibly, from unsought and desultory reflections. Yet how numerous are the advantages, which our citizens may derive from visiting Europe, and that too with scarcely a single painful effort. They consist not so much in the information actually acquired, extensive as it may be, as in the mental and moral discipline, which the traveller necessarily undergoes in the pursuit. Were all the facts that he has observed obliterated from his memory, he would still be richly rewarded, if they left behind them those new habits of thought and of conduct, of which they were originally the foundation.

Travelling breaks the continuity of our life;—we are removed from the scenes where we imbibed our early prejudices, from the friends who are accustomed to overlook our habitual faults; we can review with comparative calmness our former course, can learn to value its pleasures, to im-

prove its advantages, and to correct its errors, and can return to it with an union of ardour and experience which we enjoy at no other period. By travelling, we may learn, from a constant succession of various ideas, in a few months, what could otherwise be obtained only by the lapse of many years;—we shall partly forget a few of the features of home only that they may be rendered, on our return, still more attractive by novelty; and shall thus obviate the tendency of familiarity,—a tendency so often remarked and lamented,—to render us cold to the most striking objects and the most important truths. We may then apply that spirit of observation, which has been improved, if not aroused by the view of other countries, to those beauties of our own which were before rendered uninteresting merely by constant and cursory contemplation. A taste even for rural objects, simple and striking as they are, is often not less acquired than natural; and much advantage is frequently derived from travelling in other regions, even amid scenery precisely similar to our own. We believe that there are few Americans who do not look with additional interest on the face of their native land, after having seen a likeness of so many of its features in the valleys of Switzerland.

But the faculty of enjoying the scenery of his own country, though we think it an advantage by no means contemptible, is far from being the greatest that an American derives from exploring others. The rational opinions of our moral and political condition, which it suggests, or at least greatly strengthens, as they are highly useful to the citizens of all communities, are more particularly necessary to us. Our remote situation from the most powerful and civilized portions of the world, highly, fortunate as it is, has some weighty and obvious disadvantages, which it depends greatly on ourselves to remedy. With a large part of Europe, we have little else than a political and commercial intercourse. We know them only as communities, and are too apt to judge of their domestic character by that of the measures of their government. It is only by travelling that we can know in any considerable degree, their virtues as individuals. This would lead us to preceive, as we ought, the absurdity of that spirit of bitterness, too often displayed by turns in this country against the different portions of the European world, which involves whole communities in the censure due only

to the smaller though the more powerful part, which has no better excuse than the ignorance or insolence of a few foreign writers, and which is not more unjust to others than it is incompatible with our own dignity. This would enable us to feel, that we cannot acknowledge more plainly the force of a virulence deserving only contempt, than by reciprocating it in our answers; that by examining dispassionately the censures of our enemies, we may become acquainted with those defects, from which, exaggerated and multiplied as they are, we cannot pretend to be wholly exempt, and that the unmerrited prejudices of other nations against a power so protected from foreign violence as is ours, can eventually prove injurious only to those whom they influence. Far from finding in their unfounded reproaches, any justification for that national vanity, which may excuse many of them, and provokes many more, which descended to us by inheritance and has been cherished by our situation, we should discern in them only an additional reason for its suppression. We might learn how chimerical it is to hope that foreign nations will divest themselves of prejudices naturally inherent, how fruitless as well as servile to covet that praise which is generally given in scanty measure or from sinister motives; we should see clearly the necessity of being the judges of our own merit, and the consequent importance, as we value our permanent improvement, of estimating soberly and moderately what we have done already. Our own experience would inspire us with a more lively aversion to that want or disregard of delicacy on national topics, which is so often permitted, both in this country and in England, to violate the feelings of unoffending individuals, and which, though displayed principally in private conversation and ephemeral publications, has produced such evident, forcible and permanent effects on the public feeling of both communities.

If the real fruits of travelling consist in any degree, as we have before observed, less in facts than in conclusions, we need not wonder that they are so often unperceived in others by those who have never experienced them. They are displayed not merely by observations relating directly to the countries which the traveller has explored, but often by his opinions on subjects apparently unconnected with them, by remarks of which he has himself forgotten the original sources, by the increased accuracy and liberality of his gen-

eral style of thinking. We need scarcely say any thing of the improvement which his manners derive almost necessarily from his transient acquaintance with a constant succession of strangers, for whose attentions he must be indebted almost to those alone. Will any say, that the question is not what are the possible but what are the actual benefits of travelling, and that these are few in comparison with the time and money which is uniformly devoted to acquire them, that to derive from it all the advantages that it is capable of producing, advantages of which we generally gain even a speculative knowledge only after our travels are concluded, requires a degree of activity and steadiness, possessed by few or none, that they do not dispute for a moment the benefits of an extensive and accurate knowledge of Europe, but that this, as well as every other important end of going abroad, could be gained in a shorter period at home by persevering industry, that we abound already with accounts of foreign countries by professed travellers, that our young men can acquire or communicate little that is new or useful? In answering these objections, we shall pass over the advantages which all admit to be owing to travelling alone, and barely mention the superiority of the knowledge resulting from observation over that derived from books (though equally extensive) merely on account of its liveliness. With these important exceptions we allow for a moment that the information generally gained abroad could be acquired equally well at home, but would retort on our opponents their own question. Is this, however feasible, ever actually accomplished? To devote, during our residence in America, such an attention to the European world as is excited every day in the minds of those who actually visit it, seems to require an enlightened foresight and active and patient industry, which would more than enable us to realize all the possible advantages of travelling. Have we not all heard of the difficulty of obtaining exact and unprejudiced histories till years have elapsed after the occurrence of the events which they record? Have we yet to discover how far we can depend on the accounts of others for our knowledge of the present state of the world, especially when we consider that scarcely any have been published by our own countrymen, and that our ideas of one community must be alloyed, we know not to what degree, with the prejudices of the members of another?

Or, if we would learn from facts rather than from reasoning the degree of credit which we should generally give to the written accounts of travellers, we may examine with all due allowance for our own predjudices most of the descriptions published by foreigners who have visited the United States. There is so much in mere colouring, there are so many ways of telling the same truth, that we should betray a gross ignorance of human nature, as well as an extravagant partiality to our own countrymen, in supposing that their accounts of Europe, however candid their intentions, should be perfectly free from error. Yet this consideration seems to furnish a strong reason for acquiring a knowledge of its more important and interesting regions from personal observation, or if our ideas of them must be tinctured by national prejudices, let it be only by our own. Could we even rely far more confidently on the fairness of those who have gone before us, we see no adequate reason for confining ourselves solely to this indirect and incomplete intelligence. In every other path to information, it is allowed that our knowledge will be useful and satisfactory, in proportion as it is derived immediately from its original fountains.

We are generally directed at once to the best productions, because others have read them before; we are not therefore advised to become acquainted with them only through extracts, abridgements, and reviews. No truth is better known than that the ideas excited in the minds of two men by any subject of contemplation are never precisely alike, and the abundant acquisitions of our predecessors are rather held out to us as unanswerable arguments to pursue the self-same track. It is only in travelling, in becoming acquainted with the present condition of the world in which we are acting, in reading mankind, that we are told not only that we need not but should not examine for ourselves. This forgetfulness of the analogy which exists between travelling and reading has given rise to another objection, as trite and as singular as that which we have first attempted to obviate, and this is, that it will be impossible to direct or limit the traveller's inquiries, that if he will be content to know nothing from the mere representations of others, the world will indeed be all before him; not however to afford him a place of rest, but a sphere of continual motion. Now to obviate this evil, is much easier in fact than in theory, since it depends entirely on the judgement

of the individual, the same judgment that regulates the degree of attention to be given to all the various studies necessarily composing a liberal education, and prevents the pursuit of any one, to the injurious exclusion of the rest.

There are two more objections to travelling, which we have reserved to the conclusion, partly because they are the most general and most solemn of all, and partly because they are supposed to operate with a peculiar force against encouraging the young men of our own country to visit Europe, the depravation of their morals and the diminution of their patriotism. The first of these objections we should think sufficiently answered by observing, that it seems to make morality the offspring of circumstances rather than of principle, a sort of household divinity, a magic power, whose influence over us ceases, when we step out of a certain narrow circle. But we believe farther, that the usual opinion of the danger of moral contamination incurred by an American travelling in Europe, results from an idea of the comparative virtue of the old and new world much too flattering to ourselves. Without giving up altogether our claim to a greater degree of general morality than is enjoyed in older and more crowded communities, we cannot but think, that to many of our young men Europe has proved rather the theatre than the school of dissipation; that they leave our great cities with a depravity, which is merely displayed or at most little aggravated, during their residence in foreign capitals. If we must allow that there is no exaggeration in the ideas generally entertained in this country of the number and variety of facilities for vice existing abroad, we maintain that the traveller is protected in a great measure from their influence by circumstances which, as they are peculiar to his residence there, are seldom justly and candidly estimated by those of our citizens, whose whole lives have been passed at home. Dissipation is often the result of want of occupation, and in the splendid cities of Europe, his attention is perpetually allured and engaged by a succession of new and refined pleasures. At home, his life is all before him, and he may allow himself no inconsiderable indulgence in licentiousness, in the hope of retrieving his mispent hours by subsequent extraordinary efforts. Abroad, there are more than objects enough for all his time, and unless he sets out from home indifferent to all its valuable recommendations, he will feel little inclined to protract an

absence which must necessarily be long. In the society of strangers and foreigners he will at least be secured from the most insidious and forcible of all temptations, the corrupt conversation and example of early and familiar associates. We believe indeed that the allurements to vice which an American encounters abroad, except those arising from the society of the depraved part of his own countrymen, are on the whole less to be dreaded than those which he would experience at home in the same period; and we feel still more fully assured, that they are far exceeded by those, to which he is ordinarily exposed in our colleges, and at a much earlier age. We think too, that not a little is gained by throwing a young man on his own resources, by removing him from inspection, and rendering him immediately accountable for all his conduct to himself alone. His actions will then flow more from reflection and less from habit or accident: he will be relieved from the temptation which often results from the very pressure of external restraint. If he possesses a mind, which can be altogether unmoved by considerations so flattering and imposing as these, if he can become acquainted with the weight of his responsibility, and the extent of his liberty, only to disregard the one, and abuse the other, he must have acquired a depravity from his previous education, which should render us more modest, in extolling the general morality of our country, or more willing to part as long as possible with those whose presence would contribute so plainly to its corruption.

Those who allow that a degraded mind alone can yield itself entirely to gross dissipation, are not a little influenced by the dread of another evil, which they consider as scarcely less injurious in its effects, and far more extensive in its operation, the tendency of absence to weaken our attachment to home. Against the general force of this objection, the last which we shall notice, we may urge its opposition to the descriptions of human nature, whether historical or poetical, of every age and nation.

On what subject have poets more delighted to dwell, than on the traveller's fondness for his native land? They have represented it as sometimes transiently forgotten in the various allurements of other regions, but as always returning with undiminished vigour, as increasing with the length of his absence, as surviving even death. If these fictions were founded in no degree in reality, if the principles that they

illustrate were not those of every heart, would they have proved to authors and their readers, such a frequent and yet such an interesting subject of contemplation? Yet on this theme, it is difficult even for poetical fictions to go beyond actual history. How indeed could the tenacity of this love of country be more plainly, forcibly and generally evinced, than by the place assigned in the legal systems of so many ancient and modern nations, to the pains of exile? But it is by a reference to actual and particular examples, and not merely by theoretical deduction, that we shall learn the true effect of visiting other regions, on our fondness for our own. Polybius travelled from Greece to Italy, and passed several years in learning by actual observation the power and majesty of Rome, only that he might render his works more useful to his own degraded and oppressed fellow citizens. The contemplation of the monument of Athens produced in the mind of Cicero not a contempt for his own country then comparatively unadorned, not an indolent or desponding admiration of the splendour of others, since it was not by indulging sentiments like these, that the Greeks had been enabled to excite his own veneration, but a determination to lead the Romans from the mere study of foreign literature, to the improvement of their own, and to strive to supply in their national character, all that was yet wanting of Grecian greatness.

It is but too common to underrate the depth and tenacity of national feeling, from mistaken opinions of its origin. By many who possess it largely, it is considered as a blind and inexplicable, though venerable and useful fondness for the objects that have long surrounded us, which, as it is acquired by constant association, can be deadened by absence. But how closely, how obviously is it connected, not only with our feelings, but with our principles and our interest. It does not result merely from a natural sentiment of regard to the country which gave us birth and protected our infancy, nor from the thousand associations even with the most trifling objects of our early contemplation, nor from our fondness for our relations, nor from our regard to those friendships which can be matured only by a long intimacy, which it required much of our lives to form, and which the remainder could hardly replace. The traveller's hopes, as well as his recollections, must all be directed homewards. All his wishes for

the good of others,—and these, though powerfully operative in but few minds, are wholy wanting in still fewer,—all his views of ambition, will there find their most extensive if not their only sphere. The relinquishment of his desire to return involves in it that of so many other feelings, that it can result only from singular circumstances, or from a complete and incredible revolution of all his sentiments. We should naturally suppose, and that too without reference to facts, that the difficulty would be, not to keep alive, but to regulate his patriotism, to prevent it from blinding him to the merit of other nations, from obtruding itself so often on his thoughts as to harass his feelings and distract his attention, and from thus rendering his tour in a great measure fruitless, or impelling him to conclude it prematurely.

If any thing could add to the singularity of the objection, that the love of home is lost by a few years' absence, it is the manner in which we generally hear it enforced on our own countrymen. Why, it is said, will you quit a land and a community like ours, why give up a situation which furnishes every source of rational satisfaction, for the chance of gratifying an idle curiosity? It is distance, and that only, which lends enchantment to the view; you can find nothing really valuable that is wanting here; you will learn to observe with a microscopic eye, the few defects of your own country; from the useless splendour and pernicious luxury of other nations, you will contract a distaste for her simplicity, and disqualify yourselves from again relishing that solid happiness which your are now going to relinquish so blindly. If we understand these various propositions, little else need be urged against them than their inconsistency with each other. We are first told that we need not travel, because our own country possesses all we could desire, and then that we must not, lest she should be deprived of her hold on our feelings by a transient view of others confessedly inferior. If we fear that a few years' absence will thus render our best educated citizens indifferent to her worth, we surely cast a severe reflection either on her or on them, and must acknowledge that we are a community either less favoured or less deserving, than we generally pretend to be. Our enjoyment of our own lot, if it can be thus destroyed by a slight acquaintance with that of other nations, must indeed be miserably transient.

'———And do we only stand
By ignorance? Is that our happy state?
Oh fit foundation laid whereon to build
Our ruin.'

We believe that the preference entertained for his native land by a well educated American, rests on considerations far more dignified and durable; that even could his mind be divested of its inherent partiality, every step and every moment, would only serve to impress still more deeply the value of our singular and incontestable advantages, and the comparative insignificance of our wants. His imagination may be engrossed awhile, by the historical and poetical associations of other countries, but he will never seriously envy them the recollections of age, while his own possesses the hopes of youth. His taste may be improved and gratified by their sculpture, their painting, and their architecture; but he will reflect, that 'the finest and the rarest of all public monuments is a prosperous and happy population;' and in reverting to the simplicity of our civil institutions, the simplicity not of ignorance, but of real refinement, and to that freedom of condition, which affords so liberally to every citizen the means of acquiring comfort, knowledge and power, he can scarcely regret for a moment our inferiority in those elegant arts, which, pleasing as indeed they are, have proved too often, like our variegated autumnal foliage, the splendid symptoms of decay. These, he must be sensible, will increase spontaneously in a free and enlightened community, in proportion to the wealth which can be properly devoted to their support; and that little can now be done, but to prepare for their introduction, by labouring to improve the general taste of our countrymen. He may look on our few national faults with a clearer, but not with a desponding eye; for he will feel, that though we may have much cause for regret, we have far more for gratitude, that even our enemies ascribe to us not so much the want of talents for improvement, as the neglect or perversion of them, and that the view of our very defects is not more mortifying than encouraging, since they owe their origin and their continuance solely to ourselves.

This sketch of the advantages of visiting other countries is, we are ready to acknowledge, seldom realized, yet it contains nothing visionary or impracticable. Most of these principles, as we believe, have suggested themselves on the

slightest reflection, to all who have reviewed their travels. They are unfortunately almost confined to those, and are generally first felt, if not first learnt, only to regret the neglect of them. Travellers are often unwilling to communicate precepts that involve so direct a censure on their own practice. But should they not consider, that had they less to regret in themselves, they could indeed advise others with a better grace, but not with a clearer knowledge or greater earnestness; that those who are to follow their steps are the rightful successors to the benefits of their reflections; that they owe to their friends and society all the fruit of their labours, though much of it must be plucked from the thorns and briars of repentance; and that they barely perform an imperious part of a traveller's duty, in communicating to others the counsels of experience, though they must illustrate them by errors instead of by examples.

ART. XV.—*Greenland and other Poems: by James Montgomery.* pp. 207. New-York, Kirk & Mercein, 1819.

FOR a few months past, there has been an uncommon dearth of good poetry; but ordinary poetry is always at hand; and if we must read and judge it for want of better, we sincerely wish that we may always find it as innocent and respectable as Mr. Montgomery's. We are almost tempted to go farther, and express some regret that he will not write less, and try to finish a work in the style and spirit of the best parts of those he has published, and upon which a man of ambition and talent might be willing to rest his reputation. But there is reason to believe that something more than labour is necessary to make him all that his readers could desire. His later poems are very much better than his early ones; he has a more correct taste, and puts more meaning and vigour into his treacherously smooth verses. But amendment is not genius, nor a tolerable substitute for it in poetry;—Mr. Montgomery was moderate at the beginning, and still continues so, in spite of good culture. And it is gratifying to observe his progress towards a more blameless kind of poetry, for he has not enough talent to make us pass over his failures,—in fact, not a jot more than is absolutely

necessary to recommend his better passages to a favourable reception.

But we did not take up this volume for the sake of finding fault: we have something to thank the author for, after the most unreserved admission of his deficiencies. It is true that he is generally languid, that his graceful lines often flow on as agreeably without a thought as with one, that his occasional extravagance is wholly unprovoked by his feelings, and unsupported but by an elevated language, and that his simplicity, for the most part, is too palpably childish to be mistaken by the blindest admirers of that inimitable and self-prompted beauty. All these things have been laughed at by the critics quite enough: if he had nothing else to be talked about, these certainly were not worth censuring; and if, in the course of four long poems, he has made an unexpected proficiency in his art and written something to be praised, it seems hard that he should send out his volume, year after year, and live in neglect merely because he has gone on doing better and better, in defiance of his judges and their depressing predictions. We believe that this has been precisely the case with him. He has certainly improved. He has outlived most of his follies, and seems determined now to outlive indifference, if possible.

At first he was told by his countrymen, that his poetry was so very pitiable and he so good a man, that it would be cruel to laugh at his literary mistakes. He was accordingly left to perish. But his idle verses passed through edition after edition, and then it was thought necessary to set the public right upon this important matter, or rather to entertain us with a smart critique at the expense of an honest man, and the young tradesmen and milliners who were silly enough to purchase his nonsense. And we cannot forget an expression of surprise that Mr. Montgomery should be tolerated, when such men as Mr. Samuel Rogers, among others, were regaling the public every day with their poetry. But undismayed by this harsh treatment, and hardly deserving better, he had the courage or the humility to try what virtue there was in diligence and a poetical habit, till he has become quite respectable even when he is tame, sometimes startling us by solitary lines of singular energy, or lyrical trifles of uniform sweetness, grace and tenderness, writing as spirited verses, one would think, as Mr. Rogers was in the habit of reading,

and much better ones than his early patrons, the uneducated, know how to relish, though rarely quite good enough for more high-fed and dainty readers. So that he is in a fair way now to be thrown out of the market entirely. It is of very little consequence to the world that he cannot write better poetry, and still less to ascertain whether the measure of justice has been scrupulously dealt to him or not. If a man cannot bring forth first-rate poetry,—such as can take care of itself, carrying within itself the principle of life,—it must perish sooner or later; the accidents or fleeting interests that give it notoriety to-day, may be forgotten to-morrow; and it may be prudent for every age to anticipate, in its awards, the sure judgements of coming generations, and leave them as little rubbish as possible to clear from their libraries, and as few opportunities as possible to ridicule the bad taste of their fathers. We may call criticism cruel or partial, but it is not in criticism to kill or make alive; it may hasten or delay a writer's fore-doomed celebrity or extinction, but nothing more. And though it may sometimes condemn a feeble author more severely than is necessary, and show more spleen or wanton sarcasm than jealousy for the honour of letters, yet this offence is a very popular one with too large a class of readers; it is a certain way to enliven a journal when it threatens to be over sensible and of course very dull; and as for the wise, the candid, the philosophical, if they happen to know any thing about the matter, they will no doubt lament that there is so little feeling among men, and then the whole affair will be left to take its natural way to forgetfulness, and the author along with it.

And now it may be asked,—of what use can it be to write reviews of ordinary books, in which the public feel no interest, and which carry on the face of them such marks of intellectual inferiority, that nothing better can reasonably be expected from the writers, though they should be praised with the utmost liberality for being less tame at one time than another, and favoured with an exact enumeration of single faults, in addition to the general charge of a prevailing and incurable weakness? Such authors will as surely be found as undiscerning readers. Nobody is responsible for them. They disappoint no expectations, for they raise none. They are the favourites of the ignorant. If they write innocently, it is very well; and if viciously, they will not want admirers,

till we have a new order of things in all classes of society. It is not to be expected that the voice of enlightened criticism will reach them or their readers, or be listened to if it should. The only way to render them both any intellectual service, is to put them to school, and give them enough good sense to save them from being made wicked or silly in practice, by the mawkish or corrupt books, that are constantly put forth for the edification of the uncultivated.

But we sincerely believe that Mr. Montgomery deserves better company than this. His poetry may not live so long as some which has never pleased as well, nor done half so much good; but it is as well for him to perish at once, as to be known hereafter only by name, as one in the catalogue of remembered poets. The only earthly immortality a good man covets, is to have a living and wholesome influence upon the mind, through all the changes of society and successions of generations; to be an essential part of human enjoyment forever. He could not care to be preserved as a curiosity in the collections of national literature, merely to indicate the progress of taste and poetry, and to show the sterility of a former age in producing nothing better, and its stupidity in admiring even that. All these considerations should be matter of consolation to Mr. Montgomery, and he may add to them another, if he pleases, that he has written the best perishable poetry of our times.—A new work from him does not produce any extraordinary sensation; but it makes a part of the 'news of literature,' and as such is known to every body. All who can love the '*gentle effusions of a good heart*,' and placid though not very striking descriptions of peaceful life, active virtue and beautiful scenery, will never leave him unimproved or disappointed; and some, who can value justly the few passages in which he has been at once daring and successful, and who have felt his power of giving an equable interest to a long poem, that contained scarcely a single verse of original beauty, may be prepared for a maturer work, by and by, which shall establish his claims to remembrance. Of this we must be allowed to despair, at the same time that we proceed to say, briefly, all that we can add in his praise.

In short, then, he has written a great deal of respectable poetry, and some passages of uncommon merit, and several little pieces which are distinguished for delicacy, and for unambitious delineations of humble objects, or retired and

affectionate feelings. Religious sentiment is invariably uppermost in his thoughts. He is always aiming to do good, and to recommend the benevolent and pure to our imitation, and to help the 'good old cause of humanity' by bringing the imagination and affections to its support. His religious dispositions have even tempted him into new worlds of poetry, such as the mightiest of antiquity, or of later times, would have rejoiced to make their homes; and we doubt whether the inspiration of genius would have made him more self-possessed in the strange countries where he travels, than the single, benevolent purpose, which is the spring of all his poetry, and probably his consolation under the calamities of neglect or ridicule. More than twelve years ago, he was pronounced a good man and an indifferent poet, when he first appeared before the public as the author of "The Wanderer of Switzerland;"—and he has sustained this reputation ever since, as faithfully as if he had proposed nothing more to himself, in writing verses, than to apprise the world of his good intentions. In fact, he is so meek and diffident, so resigned to neglect and moderate in his expectations, and seems to wish so much more for his readers than for himself, that there is reason to ascribe his humble reputation in some degree to his humble spirit. His introductory apologies, which appear to come as naturally from him as any thing he writes, prepare us for something to be pitied; and the occasional admission that he has done well in a particular passage, is made in a qualifying tone, to signify that it is well for him. A poet's humility should never show a faint self-distrust, nor an undue concern for the judgment that may be pronounced upon him;—it is even better for him to rail than apologize sincerely. Though the world love to sit in judgement upon those who write for them, they love most of all to judge those for whom they feel some respect; those, especially, who are a little better than themselves, and who can make their censure or praise of consequence.

We find it impossible to give a general account of Mr. Montgomery's poetry, which shall include his best passages; though we have no difficulty in reconciling them with a second-rate poetical capacity. They are evident exceptions to the prevailing cast of his writings,—rare and illuminated prominences upon a wide flat of indifferent soil under good cultivation. We are every where impressed with his

placid, temperate disposition. Even in his most declamatory writing,—and there is an abundance of it,—we discover no signs of a disturbed spirit; he only raises his voice a little, while his mind remains upon its accustomed level. He is never so much excited as to acquire a full and heedless confidence in his powers, but seems to weigh and examine what he says, with an eye to its moral consequences; as if a feeling of responsibility lay heavy upon him. And when he is satisfied with a thing,—let it be a poetical image or pious example which he recommends,—he is too much in the habit of repeating it, and dwelling upon it, as if he thought that it must be indebted for its effect to a patient inculcation. If his readers should complain that there was not enough variety and life in his narrative, he would probably reply, that it concerned good men, and gave good instruction, and was consecrated by religious truth. And this would be very reasonable, were it not as easy to be dull about religion, or holy examples, or celestial felicity, as any thing else. A poet has something more to do than secure approving readers, who shall rise from his book with a very good opinion of his character, and a kind acknowledgment that he has told them much truth, they had heard of before. His object should be first of all to awaken the imagination, to make men feel, to breathe the spirit of poetry into them, to give them a taste for what is excellent, at the same time that he recommends it to their love, or leaves them to seek for it by themselves. The power of a poet should be seen in developing and forming the minds of his readers,—the very readers who are to judge him,—exercising over them a generous mastery, which shall give them strength and ambition to ascend to his elevation, and make them conscious of kindred power with his own in their very admiration of him; tempting them abroad as well to verify all that he tells them, as to discover new springs of joy, instead of relying upon another for their thoughts, till the mind falls asleep, like the infant, while drawing in its nourishment. Mr. Montgomery might discourse of the patriarchs for a twelvemonth, and not do half as much for our improvement as a single verse from Moses or Milton, for the simple reason that he would not do half so much to awaken and cultivate those principles of our nature, that are the foundation of all moral excellence and make us love it intensely; and which, when fully

expanded, will impart grace, originality and fervour to the virtues, that sometimes appear spiritless and almost unattractive in men who are well instructed in the rules and motives of a good life, but who have not sufficiently cherished the powers and affections that give ardour and confidence and character to virtue.

We have taken up much room with Mr. Montgomery, and said very little of him. It will always be so, when one attempts to give a just account of poetry, so destitute of character as this is. It would be in vain to discriminate, where almost every thing the mind meets with is common. In trying to feel and express the spirit of such writing, there is danger of becoming as inanimate and unvarying and prolix as the author. There is some difficulty in the attempt to do justice to a middling poet. What shall be said of the fine thoughts he now and then throws out? They are usually accounted for, by calling them accidents. If the author had written nothing more, they would probably be preserved as promises of extraordinary power, suddenly and unfortunately checked, or diverted, or cut off from the world; but as they are rare occurrences in the midst of general dulness, his mind is estimated from the larger evidence. If, with every opportunity and temptation to do well, it commonly fails in its efforts, we ascribe this to a prevailing debility, and consider the rare instances of success as exceptions proving the rule, and requiring such an explanation as shall be consistent with the mind's general inferiority. It is, undoubtedly, a very safe conclusion, that a great mind will not, on the whole, work stupidly. It may blunder, it may be coarse, it may be very unequal; but it will also have a character breaking out in all its thoughts, and distinguishing its worst efforts. We complain that such a mind ever does ill;—in the other case we wonder that any thing is done well. We suspect, however, that the embarrassing exceptions, we have mentioned, are often overrated, and owe their importance principally to the violent contrast between them and the poor company they keep.

Another hindrance to a perfectly just criticism of a common poet, lies in the imperfection of language. Suppose we should admit (and to a certain extent the admission would be just,) that Mr. Montgomery has imagination, feeling, invention, grace, a poetical phraseology, an interest in his sub-

ject, and enterprize in selecting one;—ascribing to him, in short, almost every power and quality which are associated with genius. Why, then, do we not call him at once, a man of genius? We could easily give a reason, if we could tell what genius was. The attempts at defining it, which we have seen, have only satisfied us that its meaning must be left to a man's own feelings; we seem to involve it in mystery by trying to explain it. We believe that the word is never applied to any but to minds that think originally, and whose thoughts are easily traced to some higher principle than the unusual vigour or the good cultivation of those powers, which all men of sound intellect possess to a certain extent. We sometimes call this principle, inspiration, so perfectly spontaneous are the operations of the mind where it is found; sometimes the mind thus gifted, is said to have a distinct being, another nature and even world from ours; so novel and peculiar are its views and pleasures. All that we can say of Mr. Montgomery is, that he has cultivated faithfully the powers he possesses in common with greater men.

We shall now enumerate his principal works and close with a few extracts. His earliest, and, at one time, a very popular poem, was 'The Wanderer of Switzerland;'—its day has passed, and not even the author can regret its fate. The 'West Indies' is a long-drawn, melodious declamation against oppression, and insupportably dull throughout. 'The World before the Flood' deserves a longer notice than we can make. It contains a well-contrived and agreeable narrative, founded upon the Patriarchal life. It describes the simple habits, the virtues and sufferings of the few who remained faithful in the wide spread corruption that succeeded the fall. It is marked throughout by a warm and elevated piety, and will inspire some respect for the author's invention, in the usages, characters, and incidents with which he has seen fit to distinguish the lost age of our world.—The language we use in praising this work, will appear very temperate to its admirers; and if we had no other poetry to compare it with but Mr. Montgomery's, we might speak more boldly of its merits. It is enough to say, that it will bear and reward one reading, and leave us much more in a humour to thank the author for his book, than to inquire, with a careful discrimination, into his claims upon our gratitude.

When we close it, we feel as if it were parted with forever. The mind has had no new excitement nor laid up any lasting recollections.

'Greenland' is an unfinished poem, containing a sketch of the voyage of the Moravian Missionaries to that country in 1733, and some traditional account of the Norwegian colonies, that are said to have existed on both its shores from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries,—with the causes of their extinction. The narrative is very meagre, and wholly destitute of the interest to be found in the Poem we have just spoken of; it shews also too evident a reliance upon the overwhelming importance of religious sentiments and observances, to the *exclusion* of poetical attractions. But the incidental descriptions of many singular and sublime phenomena, peculiar to the climate, are more compact and vivid than any we have seen from the author. Sometimes he has made them monstrous, where nature was content that they should be merely awful;—a common case with men, who try to conceive and communicate something which they are ignorant is beyond their reach. A plain news-paper narrative of the same phenomena, by one who had seen them, might be worth all Mr. Montgomery's conjectures and colouring; so difficult is it for any but those of the highest genius to make a good poetical use of matter-of-fact.

The second canto of this Poem opens with these reflections upon the insufficiency of this absorbing world to establish and satisfy the mind;—a very common thought, and not the less difficult to express well.

'What are thine hopes, Humanity! thy fears?
Poor voyager, upon this flood of years,
Whose tide, unturning, hurries to the sea
Of dark unsearchable eternity,
The fragile skiffs in which thy children sail
A day, an hour, a moment with the gale,
Then vanish;—gone like eagles on the wind,
Or fish in waves, that yield and close behind?
Thine Hopes,—lost anchors buried in the deep,
That rust, through storm and calm, in iron sleep;
Whose cables, loose aloft and fix'd below,
Rot with the sea-weed, floating to and fro.
Thy fears—are wrecks that strew the fatal surge,
Whose whirlpools swallow, or whose currents urge

Adventurous barks on rocks, that lurk at rest,
Where the blue halcyon builds her foam-light nest,
Or strand them on illumin'd shoals, that gleam
Like drifted gold in summer's cloudless beam.' pp 27, 28.

In this description of a vessel becalmed at sea, in a fog, the peculiar light, the stillness, and the unbounded solitude which yet appears so narrow and oppressive, are strongly conceived.

'The sun retires,
Not as he wont, with clear and golden fires;
Bewilder'd in a labyrinth of haze,
His orb redoubled, with discoloured rays,
Struggles and vanishes;—along the deep,
With slow array, expanding vapours creep,
Whose folds, in twilight's yellow glare uncurl'd,
Presents the dreams of an unreal world;
Islands in air suspended; marching ghosts
Of armies, shapes of castles, winding coasts,
Navies at anchor, mountains, woods, and streams,
Where all is strange, and nothing what it seems;
Till deep involving gloom, without a spark
Of star, moon, meteor, desolately dark,
Seals up the vision;—then, the pilot's fears
Slacken his arm; a doubtful course he steers,
Till morning comes, but comes not clad in light;
Uprisen day is but a paler night,
Revealing not a glimpse of sea or sky;
The ship's circumference bounds the sailor's eye.
So cold and dense the impervious fog extends,
He might have touch'd the point where being ends;
His bark is all the universe; so void
The scene,—as though creation were destroy'd,
And he and his few mates, of all their race,
Were here becalm'd in everlasting space.' pp. 43, 44.

The wind springs up suddenly.

'On rustling pinions, like an unseen bird,
Among the yards a stirring breeze is heard;
The conscious vessel wakes as from a trance,
Her colours float, the filling sails advance;
White from her prow the murmuring surge recedes;—
So the swan, startled from her nest of reeds,
Swells into beauty, and with curving chest,
Cleaves the blue lake, with motion soft as rest.' p. 46.

This is a very fantastical picture of a vessel locked and buried in the ice, with a full crew of 'the imperishable dead,' on board.

'Comes there no ship again to Greenland's shore ?
There comes another ;—there shall come no more ;
Nor this shall reach an haven.'
'There lies a vessel in this realm of frost,
Not wreck'd, nor stranded, yet forever lost ;
Its keel imbedded in the solid mass ;
Its glistening sails appear expanded glass ;
The transverse ropes with pearls enormous strung,
The yards with icicles grotesquely hung.
Wrapt in the topmast shrouds there rests a boy,
His old sea-faring father's only joy.'
'Writh'd round the mast and sepulchred in air,
Him shall no worm devour, no vulture tear.
On deck, in groups embracing as they died,
Singly, erect, or slumbering side by side,
Behold the crew ;—they sail'd, with hope elate,
For eastern Greenland ; till, ensnar'd by fate,
In toils that mock'd their utmost strength and skill,
They felt, as by a charm, their ship stand still ;
The madness of the wildest gale that blows,
Were mercy to that shudder of repose.'
'Morn shall return, and noon, and eve, and night,
Meet here with interchanging shade and light ;
But from this bark no timber shall decay,
Of these cold forms no feature pass away ;
Perennial ice around the incrusted bow,
The peopled deck, and full rigg'd masts shall grow,
Till from the sun himself the whole be hid,
Or spied beneath a crystal pyramid.' p. 100, &c.

Mr. Montgomery makes out his volumes with birth-day lines, obituary notices, addresses to plants, commemorations of incidents in his own life, &c. most of which are slender and diminutive every way. These little things are great trials of poetical skill and resource, and we are not surprized that Mr. Montgomery should fail, where genius itself does not always succeed. The 'Mole-Hill' and 'Field-flower' are, perhaps, the finest, and have certainly much beauty ; but we must content ourselves with an extract from two of his later lyrical pieces, which are perhaps as good specimens as we could select of the best feature in his poetry,—a delicate, and,

generally, a moral or religious association of our gentlest virtues, hopes and emotions, with some lovely and tranquil object in nature.

The first is from 'Departed Days,'—written on visiting the place of his early education.

'Light without darkness, without sorrow joy,
On earth are all unknown to man;
Here, while I roved, a heedless boy,
Here, while through paths of peace I ran,
My feet were vexed with puny snares,
My bosom stung with insect cares.
But, ah, what light and little things
Are childhood's woes!—they break no rest;
Like dew-drops on the sky-lark's wings,
While slumbering in his grassy nest,
Gone in a moment, when he springs
To meet the morn with open breast,
As o'er the eastern hills her banners glow,
And veil'd in mist the valley sleeps below.
Like him, on these delightful plains
I taught, with fearless voice,
The echoing woods to sound my strains,
The mountains to rejoice.
Hail! to the trees, beneath whose shade,
Rapt into worlds unseen, I stray'd;
Hail! to the stream that purl'd along
In hoarse accordance to my song,
My song that pour'd uncensur'd lays,
Tuned to a dying Saviour's praise,
In numbers simple, wild and sweet,
As were the flowers beneath my feet:—
Those flowers are dead,
Those numbers fled,
Yet o'er my secret thought,
From cold oblivion's silent gloom,
Their music to mine ear is brought,
Like voices from the tomb.'

These stanzas are from the Lines upon the Rev. Mr. Spencer, a young English clergyman, who was drowned while bathing.

'The loveliest star of evening's train
Sets early in the western main,

And leaves the world in night ;
The brightest star of morning's host,
Scarce risen, in brighter beams is lost ;
Thus sunk his form on ocean's coast,
Thus sprang his soul to light.

Who shall forbid the eye to weep,
That saw him, from the ravening deep,
Pluck'd like the lion's prey ?
Forever bow'd his honour'd head,
The spirit in a moment fled,
The heart of friendship cold and dead,
The limbs a wreath of clay.

Revolving his mysterious lot,
I mourn him, but I praise him not ;
Glory to God be given,
Who sent him, like the radiant bow,
His covenant of peace to show,
Athwart the breaking storm to glow,
Then vanish into heav'n.'

Art. XVI.—*An Inquiry, whether crime and misery are produced or prevented by our present system of prison discipline. By Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq. M. P.* Sixth edition. London, 1818.

Men are too much accustomed to consider the guilt of every crime as belonging wholly to the offender. In most cases it is shared between him and the public. For one criminal, who becomes so in spite of all healthful influences, there are forty whose moral diseases may be traced to the imperfection of the laws. They came into life with passions like those of other men, and neither more inclined to evil, nor less open to good discipline, than the purest and wisest of mortals. But the first light, that visited their eyes, disclosed to them examples of vice ; with these by daily repetition they became familiar, and before they could distinguish between good and evil, the lesson of iniquity was too faithfully learned. As they advanced, the only sounds, in which the human voice reached their ears, were those of vulgar depravity ; in the contrivance of evil, and in concealing it by the meanest artifice, their reason was first employed ; they

had no guide or counsellor to warn them of their danger, or to awaken the slumbering conscience. On whatever side they turned, they were assailed by the thousand temptations which society permits or encourages; and without education, without friends, without the habit of industry, a prey to want and the sport of ungoverned passion, how was it to be hoped, that they could long withstand so many causes combined to destroy them? In the unhappy man, arraigned at the bar of his country, we see only the perpetrator of crimes, which affect our peace and security; some emotions of pity we may perhaps feel, but our self-love demands his punishment. We make no inquiry into his past life, nor ask to what contagion he may, perhaps unwillingly, have been exposed. He is guilty, and that others may be deterred from guilt, he must suffer. Such is the reasoning, with which we are in general satisfied.

But ought this reasoning to satisfy the legislator and the moralist? Is it certain that those, who have enjoyed the light of education, who have never felt the temptation of want, and whose affections have been trained in the school of domestic virtue, have done all that reason and humanity require, to relieve, instruct and amend their less happy brethren—to win them, by gentleness, to safer paths, and to rescue them, in the spring-time of life, from debasing associations? Let those, who feel secure in the harmlessness of their lives, who have never harboured a guilty purpose, and have fled from all, that sinks and corrupts the soul, consider well whether they have yet nothing to fear? They would be startled, perhaps, and affronted, if they should be told, that they are accomplices in the very crimes, of which the thought fills them with horror. But the decrees of heaven are not partial. If it has placed some in circumstances peculiarly favourable to virtue, it has made compensation for this seeming inequality. A solemn duty rests on those, to whom it has imparted its richest blessings; the light and knowledge they enjoy is not all their own; the ignorant, the erring and the vicious are committed to their charge and thus participate in their advantages. But if that charge be neglected, the communion of guilt takes the place of that of virtue, and all that is forgiven to those, who have received little, will be visited on those who have received much.

That the proportion of virtue or vice in a community de-

pends much on its laws and institutions, will hardly be denied. We familiarly ascribe to this cause the moral differences observable in different nations. Laws indeed are the most powerful agents in moulding the characters of men. Their influence is thus described by Lord Erskine:* 'I must once again impress upon your Lordships' minds the great, the incalculable effect of wise laws, when ably administered, upon the feelings and morals of mankind. We may be said, my Lords, to be in a manner new created by them. Under the auspices of religion, in whose steps they must ever tread, to maintain the character of wisdom, they make all the difference between the savages of the wilderness, and the audience I am now addressing. The cruelties which we daily deplore, in children and in youth, arise from defect in education, and that defect in education from the very defect in the law, which I ask your Lordships to remedy.'

There are two modes in which human laws endeavour to restrain and prevent crimes; first, by the terror of punishment, which may deter those, who are inclined to offend, and supply a contrary motive stronger than that which impels to the offence;—secondly, by cutting off the sources of immorality, and either preserving the character in its purity, or reforming it when it has been corrupted. It is to the former of these, that attention has been chiefly directed, and though the latter has not been neglected, yet it is probable, that its importance as a subject of legislation has not been sufficiently felt. Mistakes, it is to be feared, have been committed, and in some instances provisions intended to check vice and to diminish suffering have contributed powerfully to increase both.

In an examination before a committee of the English House of Commons in the year 1816, one of the police magistrates being asked to state his opinion of the general system of police, replied, 'in my opinion there is too little exertion used in preventing the propagation and growth of crimes, and too much exertion used in punishing them, when they arrive at maturity.' [Report, p. 87.] This remark may be thought less applicable to the state of criminal law among us. But though the evil may not in this country have reached to so great an extent, our system, it is believed, is liable to the

* Speech in the House of Lords on introducing a bill for punishing cruelty to animals.

same objection, and the same consequences will inevitably follow, as our population becomes more condensed, and, with the increase of wealth and luxury, temptations and opportunities for crime increase. It is the part of wisdom to take warning, as to this and other evils, from the experience of that country, upon the model of whose laws our own are formed.

The fear of punishment is regarded by many, and we think with reason, as of little effect in preventing crimes, compared with those remedies, which operate more directly on the character by education and discipline, by substituting industry for idleness, and by such a course of moral treatment, as may encourage the growth of good affections, and convince the offender, that he is neither abandoned as an outlaw, nor pursued as an enemy. This preventive legislation is either general and precautionary, directed altogether to amending the morals of the lower classes and removing from them the causes of profligacy and vice;—or it is corrective, and employed in attempting the reformation of offenders, at the same time that their offence is punished. These, it is true, are often blended; for when the law punishes a misdemeanour, it has in view not only the correction of the vicious person, but the suppression of the vice itself, as having a general tendency to encourage licentiousness, and to weaken those restraints on which the peace of society depends. So too, prisons and work-houses intended for the correction of the dissolute, demand the constant exercise of precautionary legislation, to prevent their becoming in themselves sources of corruption, and contributing to increase the profligacy they are intended to suppress. Still the distinction is apparent between those provisions, which would prevent the springing up of crimes, and those, which would eradicate them, when they have appeared. As it is to the improvement of the disciplinary system, that we look as the surest means of diminishing crimes, so it is upon that part of it, which anticipates vice and sets a guard against its approach, that we place our main reliance. Education especially, if by any means it can be extended, upon a wise and judicious plan, comprehending religious and moral as well as other instruction, to the children of the poor and of the profligate, affords the delightful anticipation of benefits, to which the mind can find no limits but in perfection. Here then is the noblest

field for the exertions of the philanthropist, and the most deserving claim on the liberality of the public. Legislatures and governments can do little more than encourage and assist those, whose benevolence may prompt them to engage in this generous work. Let them supply pecuniary means, and second the effort by the application of their power, but let them not interfere in the details of the plan. Let these be entrusted, with ample discretionary powers, to those, whose experience and zeal may best qualify them for the task of directing, and of varying the system from time to time, as the trial of its effects may require.

But it may be asked, is there not already ample provision for the poor? Are there not poor-houses where they may find relief, and schools to which they may send their children, if they will? It is true, that a portion of every man's goods is appropriated by means of taxes to the support of those, who, from whatever cause, are unable or unwilling to support themselves. It is also true, that in this state and in many others, free schools are established; and the benefits already derived from this institution are the surest pledges of what may be hoped from a more perfect system. But it is not this cold, legal charity, that will reform the morals of the poor. You place, indeed, within their reach, the means of educating the young; but you leave it to them to decide, whether these means shall be used. You entrust the decision of a question, involving the safety of society and the best interests of thousands, to those, of whom you cannot expect that they should even know the advantages of knowledge, or desire that their children should be better instructed than themselves; to those, who think they are interested to make their children contribute to their support by begging or thieving, and who will rather instruct them by example and precept in all the frauds and excesses, with which they are themselves familiar, than send them to learn that morality and wisdom, which they have known only to deride. In short, you put your peace in the power of those, to whom you would not confide the most trifling article of property.

But it is not only the depraved, who may be expected to withhold from their children the advantages you thus offer them. Many virtuous parents are yet careless and negligent as to the instruction of their families, for no other reason, than that they are ignorant of the benefits of education.

Many too are compelled by want or sickness to employ their children in labour or in begging. We need not suggest to how sure destruction those children are exposed, who are thus sent forth as mendicants. We might here add, that in many towns, the chief care is, that what is deemed a legal obligation should be complied with upon the cheapest terms; that moral instruction is seldom or never given, excepting such as the children may be expected to glean, without assistance or explanation, from the books they read; and that the association of good and bad, together with the freedom from restraint, and exposure to corrupt examples, during the greater portion of the time, can hardly fail to take much from the good effects, that might otherwise be anticipated from free schools.

Of the laws for the relief of the poor, we can at present say little. The predictions long since made of the evils that would flow from them, have been nearly accomplished. What then, it may be asked, are the errors complained of? We answer, that men have been indiscreet both in their charity and in their severity. As to the former, it is thought sufficient to relieve want without inquiry into its causes; to give a premium to idleness, dissipation, and importunate mendicity, while humble and retiring poverty has been overlooked, and the funds that should have cheered its melancholy dwellings have gone to the support of more clamorous and less grateful supplicants. There is a want of personal interest, of real solicitude about the condition of the poor, of discriminating, thoughtful charity.

'The best way of doing good to the poor,' says Franklin, 'is not making them easy in poverty, but leading or driving them out of it. In my youth I travelled much, and I observed in different countries, that the more public provisions were made for the poor, the less they provided for themselves and of course became poorer—and, on the contrary, the less was done for them, the more they did for themselves, and became richer.' [Works, vol. 2, p. 422.] But we have no where seen the evils of an unreflecting, self-indulgent charity better described, than in a proposal for the management of the poor, published in 1753, by the well-known Fielding, who was, for many years, a magistrate of the county of Middlesex, in England. 'Every man,' he says, 'who hath any property, must feel the weight of that tax, which is levied for

the use of the poor, and every man, who hath any understanding, must see how absurdly it is applied. So very useless indeed is this heavy tax, and so wretched its disposition, that it is a question, whether the poor or the rich are actually more dissatisfied, or have indeed greater reason to be dissatisfied; since the plunder of the one seems so little to the real advantage of the other; for while a million yearly is raised among the former, many of the latter are starved; many more languish in want and misery; of the rest, numbers are found begging or pilfering in the streets to-day, and to-morrow are locked up in gaols and bridewells.' [p. 8.]

The poor-tax is indeed regarded by most men as a sort of black-mail, the payment of which is to absolve them from all farther demands on their money, their time or their patience. The consequence is, that the extent of the wretchedness of the poor, and especially its moral effects, are understood but by few. Their deplorable want of education and employment, their destitution of the ordinary comforts of life, and, what is worse, their stupid willingness to remain in this abject condition, are suspected by those only, who occasionally enter their miserable hovels. But, to use again the words of the writer last quoted, 'if this be the case with the sufferings of the poor, it is not so with their misdeeds. *They starve, and freeze, and rot among themselves; but they beg, and steal, and rob among their betters.*' The offences of the poor force themselves on our notice, and awaken our abhorrence and disgust. Their claims to commiseration are unknown or forgotten. To relieve their wants and to punish their vices are, indeed, both necessary parts of public economy. But we contrive to make them cost us as little thought as possible. For the former, we think it enough if we remove, and for the latter, if we inflict, immediate suffering. So to relieve, as to take away the cause for relieving, and so to punish, as to abate the necessity for punishment, enter little into our consideration.

By these remarks we would not be understood to mean, that there is any necessary and constant connexion between poverty and crime. In the lowest state of want, there are often examples of virtue triumphant over every temptation, enduring with patience the keenest suffering, and preserving a spotless purity in the midst of pollution. But this can only be, where poverty is united with religion and industry;

or where, at least, there is a willingness to work, but checked by the helplessness of age or disease. Now religion and industry are the very blessings, which the rich should endeavour to make more common among the poor; and there is something encouraging in the thought, that from industrious poverty have sprung some of the brightest examples of virtue and wisdom among men. But it cannot be concealed, that abject poverty is a fruitful source of profligacy and crime. Besides its own immediate temptations, and the bad associations to which it necessarily leads, the want of education alone, and the employment of children in begging, are sufficient to account for almost any degree of depravity. It is well said by Count Rumford [Essays, vol. i. p. 19] that 'the transition from begging to stealing is not only easy, but perfectly natural. That total insensibility to shame, and all those other qualifications, which are necessary in the profession of a beggar, are likewise essential to form an accomplished thief; and both these professions derive very considerable advantages from their union. A beggar, who goes about from house to house to ask for alms, has many opportunities to steal, which another would not so easily find; and his profession as a beggar gives him a great facility in disposing of what he steals; for he can always say, it was given him in charity. No wonder then, that thieving and robbing should be prevalent, where beggars are numerous.' The truth of this representation has been abundantly confirmed, if it needed confirmation, by experience. In this country, indeed, where labour is so much in demand, and subsistence so easily procured, it is impossible that the causes alluded to should be productive of effects by any means proportioned to their actual malignancy. But, even here, their consequences have been far from inconsiderable, and of what they may one day produce, we may form some opinion from the example of England.

With this view, we shall briefly notice some of the causes of juvenile delinquency, as developed in the examination before a committee of the House of Commons already referred to. There is in the whole course of this interesting investigation no fact so prominent, as the alarming increase of juvenile depredators, and some of the circumstances connected with this subject, which were disclosed in evidence to the committee, are too shocking to be here related. One of

the police magistrates declared, that as far as his observation went, *three fourths* of the offences then committed in London were by boys. It appeared that old and experienced offenders acted upon a regular plan of training up children in the practice of all the arts and frauds, which belong to their vocation; and of sending them, thus instructed, to give proof of their dexterity in shop-lifting and picking of pockets. This course is adopted upon a calculation of the more merciful dispensation of the law in regard to youthful offenders, and these unhappy instruments themselves are rewarded by a small share of the plunder. Children of seven or eight years of age were said to be often seen 'initiated into the trade of picking of pockets, under the eye of adults, seemingly their mothers.' There were instances of parents coming to the magistrates with their own children, and complaining that they had been and still were so extremely depraved and incorrigible, that they requested they might be sent to prison, in the hope that some amendment might be effected. [p. 130.] The ordinary of Newgate stated in his examination, that there were then in that prison four boys, who had been upwards of seventy times in custody between them, the youngest being nine, and the oldest thirteen years of age, and the youngest had been capitally convicted. The magistrates, some of them of great experience, who appeared before the committee on that occasion, attribute this increase of early depravity to many different causes, all of which probably have some agency in producing it. But what is more important to us is, that most, if not all, of these causes, exist here as well as there, and must operate in proportion to our population and wealth, though happily, many of them are far less in degree. The testimony of one of the members of a 'committee for inquiring into the causes of juvenile delinquency,' is entitled to particular attention. This gentleman declared, that in the course of that year (1816) he had examined seven or eight hundred cases of juvenile delinquents, and when asked what, from those examinations, he had found to be the principal causes of the delinquencies, he replied—'I take the first cause to be the want of education and instruction; the habit of gambling, particularly on Sundays, unrestrained; *the neglect of the poor, as to any care of their children.* We have traced a considerable number of the cases to fairs.' [p. 250.] The same gentleman states, that of the children he

had visited in the different prisons, *he had found about two thirds to be without education*, and that as to those who stated, they had been in schools, it was found, 'they had not attended schools with any regularity, nor been enabled to read.' Some could repeat the catechism and commandments, but in general, 'they had spent their Sundays in the fields, and among disorderly young persons.' He mentions the case of one young person, then under sentence of death, and ordered for execution, which affords a striking illustration of the dangers, to which boys are exposed, when destitute of parents, or neglected by them. The father of this lad acknowledged, that he had never given him any religious instruction. It is probable, that in accordance with this neglect, he had left him to choose his associates and his amusements, and had exercised little or no inspection over his conduct. Mark the end. The father's own account of it is, that his son came out of a public house, a resort for thieves and bad women, with seven or eight others, and two or three girls; 'they saw the prosecutor, whom they considered as a little in liquor; the girls attacked him first, and then left him to the young men or boys, who committed the robbery.'—[p. 251.] The other causes mentioned in this report, are the poverty and inability of parents to provide suitable instruction for their children, the laxity of morals among the lower orders of the people, carelessness and desertion of parents, and, in many instances, a state of friendless orphanage, corruption from juvenile companions, non-observance of the Sabbath, falling into company with thieves in consequence of the indigence of parents obliging them to leave their homes, and a most prolific source of crimes, both in young and old,—which we shall have occasion to mention, before we close this article,—the state of prisons.

We deem this subject of early depravity and the means of remedying it, to be the most important connected with the suppression of crime. For we are persuaded, that very few make the first step in iniquity at any advanced stage of life, and probably, not many beyond the period of youth. Much, very much, we believe, remains to be done in this department of reform. Could any means be devised, by which the education of all the young in habits of industry, order, religion and virtue, could be secured, how soon would an astonishing change take place in the face of society! How would our

goals be emptied of their tenants, and the bars of our courts of justice cease to be crowded with the miserable, squalid victims of ignorance, intemperance, idleness and want? Let it be remembered, that in youth the character is easily susceptible of change, the mind greedy for knowledge, the heart, in general, when skilfully touched, sensible to kindness and compassion.

> 'T is now the time of spring, and weeds are shallow-rooted—
> Suffer them now, and they 'll o'ergrow the garden,
> And choke the herbs for want of husbandry.'

What society then can be more useful in its object, or better deserve to be imitated, than that of which some knowledge may be gained from the examination of one of its members above referred to? The following more extended account is in the words of Mr. Buxton.

'Let no one imagine, that the representation I have here given of the progress of crime is a fanciful picture, which is seldom, if ever realized. There is a society in this city for the prevention of juvenile delinquency. By the most assiduous labours, by continual visits to boys in prison, and by offering a ready ear to their distresses when out of it, by giving advice to some, small sums of money to others, procuring situations for those, of whom they entertain strong hopes of reformation, by restoring some to their friends, sending some to the country, by taking some as servants into their own families, in short, by every method which active and discreet benevolence could devise, they have procured a fund of information and of evidence, which puts the above statement beyond all dispute. Amongst other records, they have a bulky lexicon of all the slang terms in use; I mention it as a curiosity. But they have also a document of great importance—a catalogue of the names, residence and age of several hundred juvenile depredators, the company they keep, the places to which they resort, and, in many instances, a history of their progress in vice, from their first deviation from virtue. They have seen many cases of boys, who, upon their first coming to prison, have kept at a distance from the other prisoners, and appeared grieved and shocked at their situation and companions; by the next visit, this bashfulness had fled, they were mingled amongst the men or the boys; at the next, all difference between them and the oldest offenders had vanished, they had learnt the language, were fluent in the oaths, and doubtless had caught the spirit of their associates. Soon after their exit from jail, these gentlemen generally receive tidings, that such a boy had been very clever, meaning that he

had been very successful. Before long, they recognize him in some other prison, and hear from the turnkey, that he is a most desperate and wicked character.' p. 58.

We have spoken of two of the principal evils of poverty, by which it tends more than any other cause to the increase of profligacy. They are, want of education for the young, and their exposure to corrupting associations. Idleness is the companion of extreme poverty, and is often a continuance of its producing cause. It is this which lends strength to all the temptations, to which that state is exposed.—Of the force of these temptations, and the firmness of principle necessary to resist them, all may judge. There is besides in this condition a tendency to irritate and embitter the feelings, to excite murmuring and discontent at the distinctions of society, and the unequal distribution of property, envy at the comforts of such as have been more favoured in respect to fortune, and a wish to make them feel the extent of that wretchedness, upon which they are supposed willingly to shut their eyes. It is obviously not strange that in rude and uncultivated minds, occupied only with the thoughts of their own suffering, these causes should produce a sullen disregard of the rights of property, and a desperate defiance of the laws, made to protect them. It is easy for these unfortunate men to convince themselves, that they are absolved from all obligation to support institutions, the benefits of which they do not feel, and to regard laws, as invented by the rich, to secure themselves in the possession of their advantages, and to keep the poor in a state of humiliation. They too readily adopt the suggestion of the poet,

'Laws grind the poor, and rich men rule the law.'

We mention these things, not to excite indignation against the poor, or that they may be considered as enemies. There is already too much of that feeling, and some part of the profligacy that exists, may, we are persuaded, be ascribed to it. We mention them as arguments for a compassionate treatment of offenders, and a fair experiment of what may be done by patience and kindness. 'The sentiment,' says Wakefield, 'which every judge and magistrate should wear at his phylactery, is to have compassion on the ignorant, and on them that are out of the way; for that he himself also is

compassed with infirmity.' No doubt, there is some difficulty in this. We must assent in part to the truth of the remark elegantly made by the same writer, that 'the heart, perpetually conversant with these scenes of profligacy and wretchedness, becomes gradually obdurate in spite of its native gentleness, and all counteracting influence of caution and reflection, just as a path, notwithstanding the vegetable influences of the season, is unavoidably worn by the perpetual feet of recurring passengers.' But in such a cause it would be wrong to despair. The astonishing success, which has, in some instances, attended a mild and gentle carriage towards the ignorant and depraved, would lead us to suppose, that if the experiment has ever failed, it has been from some mistake, or want of consistency in the application, rather than from any unfitness in the remedy itself. We need only mention, that most heroic achievement of Christian philanthropy, related by Mr. Buxton, the reformation of the female prisoners in Newgate by Mrs. Fry and her associates.

It would be impossible, within the compass of this review, to enumerate all the causes of profligacy of manners. Most of them are such as spring from idleness and poverty, and in their turns become active and powerful agents in extending these evils. For it is evident, that corruption of morals may be the cause, as well as the effect of indigence. The rich, by the little restraint which they set on the indulgence of appetite, and the middling classes by the extravagance to which the ambition of seeming to be rich carries them, contribute much to increase the profligacy of the poor, and while they often reduce themselves to indigence, they add to the dangers and the sufferings of the indigent. Of the state of prisons, and defects of criminal jurisprudence, we shall speak hereafter. Other and copious sources of moral disorder exist, which certainly the laws, without infringing on the liberty of the subject, may do much to remedy. Henry Fielding, in his 'consideration on the increase of robberies,' reduces the causes of vice to *idleness*, *drunkenness* and *gambling*. The son of this author was one of the principal witnesses examined before the committee already mentioned. These are his words: 'My father, Henry Fielding, was an old magistrate. God knows, I have seen a good deal of the police of the metropolis; I am a very old magistrate for Westminster; I have been near fifty years standing in the

commission.' [Report, p. 185.] This gentleman says of his father, that 'his idea of the gin-shop was terrible,' and he seems to have inherited this salutary terror, for he speaks of 'the increasing gin-drinking' as one of the strongest marks of the increase of immorality. Nor do we think it easy to ascribe too much mischief to the growing evil of intoxication. The deep impression of its consequences, which had evidently been made on the minds of these experienced magistrates, is justified by the observation of every hour. Go where you will, you cannot escape the sight of this destroyer of domestic peace and public virtue. In your daily walks, in every promiscuous assembly of people, you meet its bloated, haggard form. Instead of hiding itself, it is boldly alleged as an excuse for crimes, and there is no transgression for which the offender does not think that he has sufficiently apologized, when he says, that he was intoxicated. In this state, and we believe in several others, many wise and wholesome laws have been made to check this abuse. We know not that legislation can do much more by any provisions directly opposed to the vice of drunkenness. But statutes upon this subject are more easily made than enforced, and though something may be done by a more vigilant execution of the laws, the evil, we fear, is too deeply seated, and of a nature too personal, and removed from public inspection, to yield to any thing, but to a purer state of morals generally diffused through society. A heavy tax upon domestic as well as foreign spirits is the remedy, from which most is to be hoped; but unhappily it is too much opposed by considerations of private interest, and the love of popularity in rulers, to leave much expectation of its being speedily adopted.

Gaming is another vice encouraged by the inconsiderate conduct of the rich, and almost inaccessible to the laws. No habit more rapidly draws down the character to ruin, than this. Success is more dangerous than failure, and in either case the canker of this vice eats out and destroys whatever in man's moral nature is fair and refreshing, leaving only a dry, unsightly compound of avarice, rancour and selfishness. We have said, that this evil eludes the grasp of the laws. Unhappily it is directly encouraged by them. Lotteries, so liberally granted to all who can make out a specious claim to have their private views forwarded by public aid, are a direct appeal to the spirit of gambling; a com-

mon invitation to partake in a game of hazard under sanction of the guardians of public morals. Upon this head too, we may again appeal to the sure testimony of experience. In the report already quoted, one of the magistrates examined, who discovers much practical acquaintance with the subject, combined with great sagacity and intelligence, thus expresses his opinion on the subject of lotteries. 'Among the innumerable causes of thefts and other offences against the public peace, lotteries hold an undoubted place. It is a scandal to the government thus to excite people to practice the vice of gaming for the purpose of drawing a revenue from their ruin; it is an anomalous proceeding by law to declare gambling infamous, to hunt out petty gamblers in their recesses and cast them into prison, and by law also to set up the giant gambling of the State lottery, and to encourage persons to resort to it by the most captivating devices which ingenuity, uncontrolled by moral rectitude, can invent.' [Report, p. 90.] We cannot forbear to quote another passage from this gentleman's testimony, though less directly applicable to this, than to some other parts of our subject: 'it is,' said he, 'decidedly my opinion, that low public houses, flash-houses and gin-shops, compose the foundation and hot-bed of nearly all the vices and crimes, which disturb the metropolis; in these, thousands consume their time, money, and constitution, and acquire insensibility to all the moral duties; from these they sally forth, to commit depredations on the public, impelled by destitution, and fired by burning liquors.'

On the subject of police, whatever comes from Dr. Colquhoun deserves great attention. In the course of his examination before the committee on police, being asked to state the causes of the increase of profligacy, he includes in his enumeration, 'the love of dress, and the seduction of innocence;' and he pronounces a connexion with bad women to be 'the first stage in the corruption of morals.' In these words, he suggested one of the worst evils, with which society is afflicted, a pestilence, which spreads wide its ravages, which debases the character, overthrows the out-works of virtue, and prepares the way for every crime that can be named. The passion for dress, in the humbler classes of females, has more to do with this mischief, than might at first be supposed; for in the display which it seeks, the

vanity it excites, and the wants it occasions, the seducer finds the best helps, in accomplishing his purposes. Once disgraced, the unhappy wanderer is driven to a course of prostitution, as the only means of supporting life. Banished from all pure society, she is compelled to live among the profligate. Intoxication soon lends its aid to complete the extinction of all moral principle, and to destroy even the sense of shame. Thus prepared, the seduced begin in their turn to be seducers. Young men, enticed by their meretricious allurements, become their easy prey. They are thus introduced to an association with the most vile and degraded of men, drunkenness and gambling follow next in succession, and thieving and robbery complete the measure of iniquity.

Can nothing be done to alleviate this alarming evil? Must it still be, that no choice is left to the young unprotected female, 'the victim of the most base and ungenerous arts,' but to enter the haunts of impurity, and resign herself to a course of life, in comparison with which the condition of the lowest brute is enviable? Must even our better feelings, those which repel the association of vice, be thus made instruments in promoting the progress of corruption? We believe, there is a remedy. In the Magdalen Hospital of London, we have the example of a wise and humane institution, the benefits of which have long ceased to be subjects of doubt or speculation. It was instituted in the year 1758, incorporated and enlarged in 1769, and has since continued to afford refuge and protection to numbers, who would otherwise have been irretrievably lost. 'During the period that it has subsisted, more than two thirds of the women who have been admitted, have been reconciled to their friends, or placed in honest employments, or reputable services.' [Highmore on Charities.] We are aware of the dangers, which many good men apprehend from an asylum of this sort. But they seem to us to be completely avoided by the regulations of the Magdalen. Before admission a strict inquiry takes place, with a view to ascertain the sincerity of the penitence which is professed. 'The committee take particular pains to select for admission the most deserving'—'Many are reconciled to their friends, by the interposition of the committee, even without being admitted into the house; and others are supported until a vacancy takes place, that they may not be compelled by want to return to their evil ways.'—On their first admission, the young

women are placed in a probationary ward, where they are separated according to their different descriptions. 'Each class is entrusted to its particular assistant, and the whole is under the inspection of the matron.' For any improper behaviour, indicating the want of a sincere disposition to profit by the moral discipline of the place, the offender is discharged. 'The treatment of the women is of the gentlest kind. They are instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, in reading, and in several kinds of work, and the various branches of household employment, to qualify them for service, or other situations, wherein they may honestly earn their bread. The chaplain attends them daily, to promote and encourage their good resolutions, and to exhort them to religion and virtue.'—'No young woman, who has behaved well during her stay in the house, is discharged unprovided for.'

There is one class of unfortunate females, who have generally the preference among those, who apply for the benefits of this charity. These are young women, who have been seduced from their friends under promise of marriage, and then deserted by their seducers; who have never been in public prostitution, but fly to the Magdalen, to avoid it. 'To such especially, this house of refuge opens wide its doors, and instead of being driven by despair to lay violent hands on themselves, and to superadd the crime of self-murder to that guilt, which is the cause of their distress, or of being forced by the strong call of hunger into prostitution; they find a safe and quiet retreat in this abode of peace and reflection.'—[Highmore.]

We have thought it useful to suggest these more obvious causes of profligacy, because to suppress them, or to counteract their influence, must enter into every scheme for the amendment of morals. But all attempts to banish particular vices must end in disappointment, unless combined with some general plan for the employment and instruction of the poor. Of this then, incomparably the most important theme that can engage the attention of the benevolent, we shall attempt to speak; not indeed in the hope, that it is in our power to offer a matured and digested scheme for the accomplishment of a design so vast and complicated, but that others may correct our errors, and supply our deficiencies, and that thus, after many improvements and trials, a system may at last

be attained, in some degree answerable to the pains, that shall have been bestowed, and the charitable zeal that shall have warmed the hearts of the labourers.

There are three classes of the indigent; 1. the aged, sick and infirm; 2. those who are able and willing to work, but cannot obtain employment; 3. those who prefer idleness to industry, and generally are more or less depraved, and addicted to pernicious habits.

There can be no doubt, that the first are to be relieved, and provided with the comforts of life at the expense of the public, if they have not kindred, who are able to support this burthen. How to effect this in such manner, as not to encourage idleness, extravagance and licentiousness by the prospect of a retreat in sickness or old age, is the problem. It is manifestly impossible to make any accurate discrimination, founded on the previous course of life of the sufferer. The relief provided, therefore, should be only decent and moderate, and such, as still to leave room for remembering with regret the comforts of home and independence. In cases of individual sufferers, whose former lives, or the peculiar hardship of their cases, may entitle them to something more than the common and public bounty, it must be left to private sympathy to make that addition. It is absurd to suppose, that while a considerate charity is enjoined by religion, it is possible for any public institution to reach all the exigencies of this duty. It is a duty never intended to be discharged by substitutes, and providence would have contradicted itself, if any establishment of a public nature, under the government of hired officers or appointed overseers, could have entirely supplied the need of private and personal beneficence. But the most effectual remedy against this apprehended evil will be found in the provisions for compelling the idle and dissolute to labour.

For this class of meritorious poor, alms-houses must be provided. But relief at their homes, whenever their characters and habits are such as to make this measure safe, is always to be preferred to the separation of families and their removal to a public building. This mode of assisting the poor was used with great success by Count Rumford in connexion with his admirable establishment, the house of industry, at Munich.

There is one evil belonging to our system of poor laws, for which a remedy ought, if possible, to be found. In imita-

tion of the English plan we have imposed on each town the duty of supporting its poor, and certain rules have been at different times established for determining in what town or parish the pauper has his legal settlement. This has caused two disadvantages. The first and greatest is, the endless disputes and litigations, and the multitude of nice and difficult questions of law, which have grown out of these statutes. So numerous have these been, that a distinct branch of law has been formed out of the decisions on the poor laws. The expenses incurred in the prosecution of these suits between towns must form no small part of the whole expenditure arising from paupers. Another mischief is the narrowness of the districts to which the several poor-houses belong. By the laws of this state, indeed, several towns may unite in the erection and government of a poor house. But in practice, it is most common for every town to provide distinctly for its poor, the other course being almost necessarily attended with endless disputes. The consequence of this is, that there is great inequality in the management of the poor, both as to the liberality of the provision made for them, and attention to their moral habits.

For both the evils here suggested, the only cure that occurs to us is, an establishment under the care of each state. Houses for the reception of the poor might be erected in districts sufficiently large for good management, without, at the same time, removing them to a great distance from their friends. These might be governed by regulations prescribed by a general board, who should also appoint a keeper and matron for each house. The same board might superintend and direct the houses of industry and correction, and have under their immediate government an institution for the education of poor children. Perhaps it might not be too much to entrust to them also the general regulation of prisons. All these purposes, it is probable, might be answered, and liberal and competent salaries allowed to the managers and keepers at a less expense, than is now occasioned by the system of poor laws.

Another class to be provided for, consists of those, who find no demand for their labour. It may seem strange that this evil should exist in a country where immense tracts are yet to be reduced to a state of cultivation, and where the price of labour is beyond example high. But there are several things

to be taken into view. 'It has been computed,' says Franklin, 'by some political arithmeticians, that if every man and woman would work for four hours each day in something useful, that labour would produce sufficient to procure all the necessaries and comforts of life, want and misery would be banished out of the world; and the rest of the twenty-four hours would be leisure and pleasure.' [Works, vol. 2. p. 427.]

It is impossible then for all to be employed in the mere business of cultivation. There must be other trades and employments at home, and commerce abroad. It will often happen that from sudden changes in commerce, from the caprice of fashion, or an over supply of some of the sorts of labour in a particular town or district, many will find that the skill or art, on which they depend for subsistence, has become useless. It is not to be expected, that persons so situated, will immediately seek for themselves another habitation, where their powers may be more in request. They may be too far advanced in life, may be burthened with large families, attached by various connexions, by birth and deep-rooted affection to the spot where they have lived. To this we may add, that there are many, who rather want address to procure employment for themselves, than a willingness to be employed. Persons thus situated may be greatly relieved, and saved from that most debasing resort, mendicity, by a public house of industry. Such establishments in different districts would have the power, by correspondence with remote sections of the country, to equalize in a great degree the demand for labour; and many of the labouring poor, who are obliged to live in idleness and want from the limited sphere, to which their usefulness is confined, might thus be made happy by contributing to supply the wants of a distant population, to which of themselves they would never have found access. Private contractors, it is true, may effect the same object, but they must receive a large profit, and the poor are exposed to great exactions and oppression in their commerce with such dealers. But admit even, that the labour of a house of industry is superfluous, and that no demand exists any where for the services of this portion of the people. Still the public would be great gainers in employing and paying them. They would be gainers, even if no other good effect followed than to prevent the evils of idleness. But they are gainers also by the actual produce of the la-

bour. Suppose a contractor to expend $20,000 of capital in some new manufacture, which employs a number of workmen; and that he is so unsuccessful that the whole produce gives him only $15,000. He then is a loser of $5000, but the public has gained the whole produce of the industry, which he excited; and the money, he expended, far from being lost, has supplied food, and clothing, and shelter to many. The result is the same with a public house of industry. Its expenses will commonly exceed its receipts, but, in addition to its moral effects, which can hardly be estimated in price, there is a real addition to the public wealth.

As to the plan of such an institution, we can only briefly suggest, that its branches should be distributed in sections comprising a convenient portion of population, which might be much larger in agricultural, than in commercial districts; that no adult should be compelled to enter it, and that great care should be taken to prevent its being considered as a place of punishment or disgrace; that a cheap, wholesome and abundant diet should be furnished;—and in the government of the institution great advantage might result from distinction in respect to diet according to skill and industry;—that from the proceeds of each man's labour, of which an exact account should be kept, should be deducted a moderate sum for the benefit of the establishment, and all that he can earn above this should be given immediately to himself, or, if he prefer it, be deposited for him in a savings bank; and that the poor, who are unable to work, should be fed from the table of the house of industry, in the manner practised by Count Rumford. Children, the care of whose education devolves on the public, might be placed here to be instructed in some useful trade, and continued in the institution, until they could be reputably employed abroad. In a large and populous city it would be, in general, best, that the labourers should still be lodged in their own houses, and retain all their family connexions, as was the case with the Munich house of industry; and, as far as possible, the same practice should take place in country establishments.

The third class, composed of the dissolute and idle, of vagrants and sturdy beggars, are to be sent to a house of correction. It is, we think, a great evil of the existing system, that no work-house is provided, which is not at the

same time a prison. It is of extreme importance to preserve a marked distinction between establishments for the relief and employment of the deserving poor, and those which are to operate compulsorily on rogues and vagabonds. It should be as honourable to be employed in the house of industry, as disgraceful to be committed to the house of correction. It is unfortunate that labour should ever have been considered as a punishment. It is related by Mr. Buxton, that in one of the best regulated prisons, which he visited, deprivation of the materials of extra labour was used as a punishment, and with such effect, that the keeper assured him, 'not a day passed, in which he did not receive solictations for its return, and promises of amendment.' [p. 85.] He says too of the Maison de Force at Ghent;—'We did not see a fetter or a chain in the whole prison. The refractory are sentenced to prohibition of work, or to solitary confinement not exceeding ten days. In former times corporal punishment was allowed, but this is now dispensed with, merely, as the governor said, "because it was found to be unnecessary." Privation of work is penalty sufficient to keep ninety-nine out of a hundred, orderly, and attentive to the rules.' [p. 91.] Yet, it would seem, as if by our system of poor-laws, it had been intended to make labour disgraceful. On the contrary, every possible method should be employed to excite industry by the operation of those motives, which usually stimulate men, when at liberty; the desire of subsistence, the hope of enjoyment, and the love of independence. Many of the idle have never known the influence of these motives, nor the power of honest industry to contribute to their happiness; others, having gone astray, have not sufficient resolution to break from the thraldom of bad habits. Compulsion may be required at first; but if severity be tempered with that mildness, which will convince them, that their own good is really intended, the stubbornness of their characters will soon yield, and they will bless the hand, that has seasonably chastised them.

Employment, whether voluntary or compulsive, must be the chief resource of all institutions for improving the morals of the poor. It may be thought difficult to find suitable employments for this purpose. On this head, we can only refer to the long list of occupations, which are mentioned by Howard, as either actually pursued in prisons, or fit to be introduced into them. Many of these, as they require little

skill, may be very soon learned. If individuals should not be found to supply materials, and pay for the labour performed on them, it would be for the interest of the public to do this, even though some pecuniary loss should follow. Indeed, it is idle to expect, that any such institution can at once support the labours, and pay the charges of its management. 'Some,' says Howard, 'have supposed that the profit of the work in a house of correction might support the expense of the house. But, however it may appear in speculation, in practice it is always found otherwise.'—'In the best regulated houses of correction, in Holland, taxes are fixed for their support.' [On Prisons, p. 41.]

Religious and moral instruction is an object never to be lost sight of in prisons and houses of correction. Without regular and daily devotion, and frequent admonitions to each individual adapted to his circumstances, and inspired by real solicitude for his amendment, little indeed is to be hoped. 'Kind usage to mollify the heart, and good instruction to illuminate the understanding, are the wise and only rational means of reformation; severe treatment, without any attempt at removing gross ignorance, (the almost universal economy of these gaols,) hardens their inhabitants, and prepares them for additional outrage to society.' [Wakefield, Memoirs, p. 272.] 'I know not,' says Howard, 'any reason why a house of correction may not be conducted with as much regularity as any other house, where the family is equally numerous. Some foreign bridewells are so conducted. The hours of rising, of reading a chapter in the bible, of prayers, of meals, of work, &c. should all be fixed by the magistrates, and notice of them given by a bell. A chaplain is necessary here in every view. To reform prisoners, or to make them better as to their morals, should always be the *leading* view in every house of correction, and their earnings should only be a *secondary* object. As rational and immortal beings we owe this to them, nor can any criminality of theirs justify our neglect in this particular.' [On Prisons, p. 44.]

If any one doubt whether pure religious worship can be offered in prisons, let him read Howards's account of the sabbath service in the rasp house at Rotterdam. We have seen few descriptions more truly affecting, and that man is not to be envied, who could read it, without heartily

joining the benevolent author, when he says, 'I cannot close this account without mentioning the ardent wishes it inspired in me, that *our* prisons also, instead of echoing with profaneness and blasphemy, might hereafter resound with the offices of religious worship, and prove, like these, the happy means of awakening many to a sense of their duty to God and man.' [On prisons, p. 50.]

Cleanliness, separation and classification are all objects no less important in houses of correction, than in prisons.

The earliest establishment of a house of correction appears to have been that of Bridewell-Hospital in London. It was founded in the reign of Edward VI. at a time, when the dissolution of the monasteries had filled the capital with thousands of persons who were fit objects for relief or correction. In 1557 rules for the government of this institution were prescribed by the citizens of London, and the true uses of such an establishment could hardly be better expressed, than in their language. It is, say they, 'an house of contrivance for the suppression of idleness, the enemy of all virtue, and the nourisher of good exercise, which is the conquerer of all vice'—'to succour and relieve all the poor of the city, and banish and put away beggary, which in effect is idleness'—and in the same spirit the governors are directed, when the one half of the prisoners should be relieved from their task in the mill, to cause them 'to be forthwith occupied in the making of tile-pins, which is a work of no great labour, and yet commendable for excluding that hateful enemy, idleness.'

Many things remain to be said on the subject of laws for the relief and correction of the poor, which we must reserve for some future occasion, when we may treat of them separately with that attention, which the subject requires. In the preceding remarks we have only suggested such hints as seemed applicable to our present purpose.

The education of orphan and destitute children, and of those whose parents are poor or profligate, next demands our attention. We approach this subject with timidity, for we feel that it is embarrassed with difficulties only equalled by its importance. We believe it, as we have already intimated, to be that point, on which the lever must rest, that is to move the world. 'Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old, he will not depart from it.' Often as these words have been quoted, and trite as they may seem, we fear

not to quote them again. They contain a lesson of moral and political wisdom, that cannot be too deeply imprinted on the minds of all, who have any concern in governing or reforming mankind. When we see in our streets, 'herds of little vagabonds,' spending their days in idleness and beggary, wrangling among themselves, half clothed and half fed, covered with rags and filth, and offending our ears by profaneness and indecency, it is impossible not to reflect how much of misery and of crime might be spared, if these pupils of vice could be removed to some well-ordered seminary for the poor, where they might be trained to some useful and industrious occupation, furnished with the knowledge necessary for their station in life, and accustomed, by a mild yet steady discipline, to habits of order, cleanliness and peace. The institution of Fellenberg in Switzerland, has happily furnished an example, from which many useful hints may be drawn, at the same time that his success gives great confirmation to our hopes. We shall not attempt to furnish a complete plan of such an establishment, but confine ourselves to suggesting some leading views of its nature and design.

Agricultural occupation is at once the most favourable to health, the most useful in its moral influence, and the best suited to our condition and circumstances as a people. It has besides the advantage of having been successsfully tried by the gentleman just mentioned. Above all, it is that occupation which affords the most frequent occasions for conveying religious impressions to the youthful mind. What scheme then can be more rational or practical, than that of a public farm, or a number of farms, where children of both sexes, but kept entirely distinct, may be taught the various arts connected with husbandry; and, under a mild and paternal management, in the pleasurable exercise of all their faculties, may be educated like a well governed family. Other pursuits, besides such as are merely agricultural, might be introduced for those, whose temper or genius should seem better fitted for them. Fellenberg's system supplies the general outline of such an institution, and leaves us nothing to add. We shall barely remark, that experimental farms might be easily combined with these establishments for education, and thus two important objects might at once be gained.

But it may be asked, by what means will you remove children from parents, who may insist on retaining them?

We reply, that in the first place this difficulty, if it really exist, is not an objection to the proposed institution, because there are many children, who, by death or desertion, are deprived of parental care, and many, whose parents are themselves supported by the public alms. No obstacle can occur as to these. In the next place, by our existing laws, the overseers of the poor are empowered in many cases, against the will of the parent, to bind out poor children as apprentices. [Mass. Stat. 1794, ch. 59. sect. 4.] They may even bind to service for a term not exceeding one year, adults, 'who have no visible means of support, who live idly, and use and exercise no ordinary or daily lawful trade or business to get their living by.' *A fortiori*, one would think, the children of such may be put into a reputable employment. Add to these, the children of all persons convicted of infamous crimes, of notorious drunkards and spendthrifts, and of all those who may be sent to the house of correction, all children found begging in the streets, and all who may be convicted of any criminal offence, and it is probable, that very few will be left to grow up in vice and ignorance. But still farther, as the laws provide free schools for children over a certain age, it would be perfectly consistent with parental rights, that all such as do not regularly attend some public or private school, should, unless it can be made to appear that they are properly instructed at home, be sent to the proposed institution.

The same gentleman, whose testimony before a committee of parliament we have before quoted, expressed in the course of his examination an opinion upon this subject, which contains much good sense, and states very clearly the grounds and limits of public interference in the relation between parents and children. We shall insert the questions and answers.

'In your former evidence, you gave an opinion in favour of establishing asylums for deserted children. If such asylums were formed, what legal powers would you think necessary for the separation of such children from their bad connexions? I assume as a principle, that when the authority, with which parents are naturally invested for the well-being of their children, is grossly neglected or perverted to their harm and that of society, the good of both requires that it should cease; and that society, to which these children are to become an aid or a disturbance, in self-de-

fence ought to stand in the parents' place ; and put the children in the way of becoming useful members of society. I should therefore propose, that any peace or parish officer should be empowered to take children begging or wandering in indigence, before a magistrate ; the magistrate in his direction to commit provisionally. If in a certain time the parents do not claim the children, and give satisfactory assurance of their capacity and disposition to take care of them, that two magistrates may then make an order for the settlement of the children permanently ; all right of the parent over the child then to cease, all access to be denied, and a new surname to be given to the child in the place of its paternal one ; provided that the children may be restored to their parents upon proof of subsequent ability and inclination to bring them up in the right way.'

'Do you not see, that in a great population, which is one of the causes of the distress arising among the lower orders of people, and the consequent crime which follows upon such distress, you would by this means give a bounty to parents to desert their children, as well as a bounty to early marriages, without having the means of supporting the offspring, the result of them ? I think not. I think that the disgrace of having their children separated from them, upon the grounds and in the manner I have stated, could never be anticipated as a motive of encouragement to early marriages ; and I think further, that no parents, excepting the extremely profligate, would be induced to abandon their children in consequence of the asylum which I advocate.' [Report, p. 358. Examination of J. T. B. Beaumont, Esq.]

We shall here add, as confirming in the strongest manner the importance we have attached to education, as a means of reform, the testimony of Robert Owen, Esq., who stated that during twenty-five years, he had constantly had under his direction 'from five hundred to upwards of two thousand' of the working class.

'From long experience and attention to the subject, what general measure have you found to be the best aid to your system of domestic police ?—The most efficacious, and that which I am now satisfied from experience will be certain in its beneficial effects, is a well devised system of training and instruction for the poor and working classes, I mean one that shall directly apply to form the habits and dispositions of children from their infancy.' [Report, p. 350.]

Such being the acknowledged importance of a system of

education for the children of the poor, it is not easy to account for the fact, that so little has been done, or even attempted, in this branch of public economy. Had ingenuity been exhausted in restless and persevering efforts to contrive and perfect such a system, it could not have been said that the zeal displayed was disproportionate or unwise. What then shall we think, when, instead of this zeal, we see communities and legislatures looking with apparent unconcern upon the ignorance and idleness, in which multitudes of children pass those years, that give a lasting form to the character,—when we see them adding to the number and force of those causes, which make vice congenial to the youthful mind? It is time, that attention to this subject should be thoroughly aroused, not to subside again, till it appear that to persist would be folly, and that to despair is wise.

Many other causes of depravity demand our notice, of which the limits of this review forbid us to treat. The indiscriminate admission of strangers is not among the least of these. It is in vain to purify our own manners, and guard against the growth of crimes, if we are continually exposed to an influx of profligacy from abroad. But we must content ourselves with this suggestion.

We pass to the subject of prison-discipline. Of this too, the bounds we must prescribe to ourselves, oblige us to speak much less copiously than we at first intended. But perhaps it is unnecessary. The works of Howard contain, we believe, all that reason and experience, joined with the most active benevolence, could suggest for the improvement of prisons. That their effect has been so partial is as melancholy as it is disgraceful. Mr. Buxton's work is one of great merit, comprising in a small compass a most animated picture of the state of English prisons, enforcing, with the eloquence of unfeigned charity, the necessity of reform, and pointing out in the most satisfactory manner the defects to be remedied. The influence of such a work ought not to be confined to the country, for which it was written. Here, too, the state of prisons, and the whole system of prison-discipline, are a reproach to our laws. In most of the populous cities of the United States, the gaols and bridewells are crowded with prisoners, suffering under every species of moral and physical evils; and no where, except in penitentiaries, has there been any attempt to make imprisonment salutary, or

even to guard against the dangers peculiar to places of confinement.

Imprisonment is either for security, or punishment. Accused or suspected persons and debtors are merely restrained of liberty, that their persons may be forth-coming. Convicts are shut up from society, that the example of their suffering may excite in others a salutary fear, and that they themselves may, by solitude and reflection, be brought to a sense of guilt.

It will at once be admitted, that those who are only accused or suspected, ought to be exposed to no other evil, than the mere restraint of their persons, till they can be tried. It may be, that the charge is groundless. If so, the accused person ought speedily to be restored to his liberty, his family, his enjoyments and his reputation, without carrying with him disease of body, or corruption of heart, which may render his whole future life miserable. He has a family and kindred, perhaps, depending on his industry. By what right will you take from them a husband, father, son, or brother, on whom all their earthly hopes rest, to return him, with his innocence indeed vindicated, but with ruined health, and polluted mind, to be forever after their burthen instead of their stay?

The same remarks will apply to debtors. Insolvency is often the result of calamities, against which no prudence can guard. In other instances, it is caused by indiscretion, or negligence; by want of foresight, or by a sanguine, adventurous disposition, the fault of the temperament rather than of the heart. With what pretence of reason or justice can persons, thus unfortunate, be condemned to dwell for months in the midst of filth and of wickedness, brought into contact with the vilest of mankind, and compelled to waste in idleness those hours, which might be usefully employed for themselves, their families and their creditors? May we not say with Lord Kaimes; 'One would imagine love of riches to be the ruling passion in a country, where poverty is the object of so great punishment.

Nor is it less contrary to reason and good policy, that the process of punishment should be a process of corruption; that while the criminal is chastised, the propensity to crime should be increased; and that an offence, indicating perhaps no malignity of heart, should expose the offender to a trial, from

which, without a miracle, he will not escape unhurt. Example and reformation are the ends of punishment. All suffering, not tending to these, is forbidden alike by law and humanity. Torture is banished from our system of criminal justice, and who would not shudder at the thought of its revival? But the state of our prisons subjects their wretched inhabitants to a slow and lingering torture, worse, many times worse, than that of the rack. It is an anguish of the body and of the mind, which few are hardy enough long to endure. And when its victory is complete, when the heart sinks, when every nobler faculty is subdued, and a moral night has taken possession of the soul, who then shall heal the wounds, which human policy has made? Then, indeed, you may throw open your doors, and say to the fallen man, 'depart and go in peace.' But you have 'removed his soul far off from peace.' He may return to his former abode, but to him it is no more the abode of happiness. He has contracted in your cells a distaste for all that he once loved; he believes himself hated, and, in his turn, he hates; his old connexions and habits are broken off; he tries in vain to resume them; and he flies at last to the companions of his prison-hours, to join in their revels and their crimes, and to forget in their society both what he was, and what he has become.

That such are the effects of our mode of imprisonment in common gaols, might easily be proved by the unerring testimony of fact. We shall, in what remains of this article, briefly point out some of the principal defects. And first, idleness. Of the moral tendency of this we need not say more, than we have already done. In every gaol there should be room for employing all the prisoners, those who are under sentence by compulsion, and others by their voluntary choice, if, as we believe would generally be the case, they should prefer occupation to solitude and inaction. And to stimulate them, it is necessary, that a part of the profits of the labour result immediately to their own benefit.

2. Want of cleanliness. This is all important, as it respects the health and comfort, as well as morals of the prisoners. To promote cleanliness, gaols should be built near to some running or tide water. Another benefit may be gained by employing the prisoners by turns in the work of cleansing, increasing at the same time their allowance.

3. Free air and exercise. Of these there is no reason for depriving prisoners, unless they are condemned to suffer death by the deprivation of common blessings.

It is obvious, that to promote these views, all prisons should be erected out of populous towns, where there may be room enough for employment and exercise, and an unrestrained enjoyment of light and air.

4. Religious and moral instruction. The want of this is a most serious reproach. No one can question the duty of using every possible means for reforming the offender. Yet this is a duty universally neglected. 'The minds of these prisoners,' says Wakefield, 'are in general deeply imprinted with the plough of adversity and sorrow—but there is no seasonable husbandman to scatter in the furrows the seeds of virtue.' Mr. Buxton relates an interesting and encouraging instance of the effect of employment and instruction on a boy.

'I happened to see a boy, whom I had known in Newgate, where he was to be found before every session, and where he bore the worst character for violence and wickedness. I well recollect feeling much compassion for him, in the persuasion, that judicious discipline might still reclaim him—circumstanced as he was, when in prison, placed in the centre of evil and corrupting associates—when out of prison, ignorant of every method of obtaining an honest livelihood; I could consider him in no other light, than as a wretch reared for the gallows. His fate, however, has, I trust, been arrested. He has now been three months at the Penitentiary. He told me with evident pride, that he could already make a pair of shoes—that he earned from three to four shillings weekly—and for his character he referred me to his superiors. From his task-masters I heard that he was quiet, attentive and industrious; and the chaplain described him as a boy, of whom he entertained much hope.' p. 119.

5. Separation and classification of prisoners. In the present economy of our goals, this is not attended to, and indeed, where the prisoners are numerous, it is impracticable. It is obviously unjust and impolitic to confine the suspected person, who is only waiting his trial, in the same room with convicts, or to suffer any communication between them. And among the suspected even, there should be a separation between persons known to be of vicious character, and those who have neither been before convicted, nor have given

proofs of a depraved heart. There should also be a separation founded on the nature and different degrees of malignity of the crimes. To place a man, who, in the sudden heat of passion, has been guilty of an assault, in the same ward or apartment with thieves and counterfeiters, is shocking to common sense and humanity. It is also plain, that the moral benefits of confinement cannot be obtained without such seclusion, as will give the offender opportunity for reflection. At night, therefore, the prisoners should be solitary. The propriety of entire separation between the different sexes, is too obvious to need remark. Yet even this is not enough attended to. But it is most important, that the young should be separated from the old, and the less vicious among the young from the more corrupt. It is known to us, that in one place at least, and we think it probable it is the same in all our populous cities, this evil is so apparent, that it is with great reluctance, that magistrates ever commit boys. But it must often be done, and it is painful to think of the ruin of character, which must be the effect of exposure to such evil associations. We may here refer to the extract from Mr. Buxton, inserted in a preceding page. [p. 298.]

6. Infirmaries. No prison should be without this provision for the sick. It is important both to the diseased and the sound, that they should be separated. To be 'sick and in prison' conveys to the mind almost the full extent of human misery. Nothing should be omitted, that can alleviate it.*

There is another improvement in the economy of prisons, which seems to us recommended by the strongest considerations. It is a very frequent remark of Howard, that wherever the women's apartment was superintended by female inspectresses, he observed a most gratifying decency and

* The following information has been communicated to us by a friend, whose knowledge is the result of personal observation. It may tend to shew, that the improvements suggested are at least practicable. There are 11 prisons on the continent of Europe, and 6 in England, situated without the cities, to which they are attached—11 continental prisons situated on rivers, besides the French prisons, which are generally thus placed, and there are 9 so placed in England—20 continental prisons, in which a system of industry is pursued by convicts, and in some, *by debtors*, and 10 such in England—25 continental prisons which possess infirmaries, and 26 in Great Britain—22 continental prisons, which have chapels, besides the French prisons, in which mass is daily performed; 9 in London, and 42 in the other parts of Great Britain.

cleanliness. The Dutch prisons were, in his time, by far the best governed, and exhibited in many instances the pleasing appearance of a well-ordered family. The male prisoners looked up to the Father, as with Dutch simplicity they called the gaoler, and the female prisoners to the Mother, with affection and respect. Kindness had established an influence, which whips and dungeons could never have procured. In Holland, we are told by Howard, great good is found to result from governesses attending the prisons; 'each house has four, who take the charge of inspection.' In the Hamburgh house of correction, it is required that the regents or governors be married men, and the wives assemble to inspect the condition of the women, and to deliver out work to them, at the same time, that the husbands, in another apartment, examine the general state of the prison, and give directions for its management. Would it not then be wise to provide by law for appointing matrons to have the immediate care of female prisoners in every gaol, and house of correction?—Perhaps too, it might be useful to authorize the appointment of a board of female visitants, to be composed of such as benevolence might induce to undertake the task, who, like the 'Ladies' committee of Newgate,' should attend to the employment and moral instruction of prisoners of their own sex.

If would also be attended with great practical benefit, if care should be taken to provide every discharged prisoner with employment or immediate subsistence; and not, as at present, to send him from the gaol destitute even of the means of supporting life. Before he can resume any industrious occupation, he is almost forced, by the calls of hunger, to seek the haunts of vice, and to supply his wants by fraud or robbery. The extent of this evil is incalculable. It may be illustrated by the reply of Barrington to the monitory address of Chief Baron Eyre. 'My Lord, I have paid great attention to what you have been stating to me after my acquittal. Now, my Lord, I have only this reply to make; I am ready to go into any service, to work for my labour, if your Lordship will but find me a master.'

It may be objected to these plans of reform, that they cannot be carried into effect without great expense. We shall answer in the words of Howard. 'Money, to the amount of thousands, is not withheld when shire-halls and town-halls are wanted; these we see grand and elegant edifices; why

should it be spared, when the morals and lives of multitudes are at stake; and when it is impossible the design of the legislature should be answered without it? I mean, amending the manners of petty offenders; preventing the spread of diseases, and the increase of felonies.' The language of Mr. Owen upon this subject, in his examination before quoted, is too impressive to be omitted here. After stating that during four months, while, by the shutting of the American ports in 1808, the numerous workmen in the manufactory of cotton, of which he was a proprietor, were unemployed, they still received full wages, and that the amount thus expended was £7000, he is asked, 'upon what principle did you recommend this measure?' He replied, 'upon the principle of preventing crime, and its consequent misery; because if the poor cannot procure employment, and are not supported, they must commit crimes or starve; *and I have always considered that £7000 to have been more advantageously expended than any other part of our capital.*' [Report, p. 349.]

Let this example forever silence the objection, that the expense of any measure, which effectually tends to the amendment of morals, and the prevention of crimes, is too great. Let us not be behind other nations in adopting improvements, enjoined by charity, as well as by interest. In France an effort is now making, which we may do well to imitate. A late *Moniteur* contains a royal ordinance, approving the institutions of a 'Royal society for the amelioration of prisons.' Of this society, the king is protector. Its operations extend over the whole kingdom. Its functions are 'to communicate to the Minister of the Interior their sentiments upon every part of the administration and internal management of the prisons of the kingdom, and especially in what relates to classifying the prisoners according to their age, their sex, and the nature of their crimes; the various kinds of labour proper to be adopted in prisons; the distribution of the profits of that labour; the internal discipline of the prisons; the health, safety, religious instruction, and moral reformation of the prisoners, together with their food and clothing; lastly, the enlargement, general construction, and alterations, which may appear necessary or useful in the buildings themselves.' [Lit. Panorama, May 1819.]*

* A Paris paper of 12 June 1819, contains an extract from a wor of M. A. de Laborde, lately printed in that city, entitled, '*Memoire su*

May we not, then, indulge the hope, that the time has arrived, when those 'caverns of oblivion,' as Dr. Johnson has well called them, to which so many are daily consigned, shall no longer be filled with misery unseen and unthought of; but that even their secluded cells shall be penetrated by the rays of benevolence, and the heart of the captive be soothed and softened by the gentleness of compassion? May we not once more call upon those, to whom the public purity and morals are given in charge, 'to hear the groaning of the prisoner; to loose those, that are appointed to death?'

ART. XVII.—*The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.* No. I. No. II. New York. C. P. Van Winkle, 1819.

WHEN Launcelot Langstaff, Will Wizard, and Anthony Evergreen first appeared before the public, they made known that 'they should not puzzle their heads to give an account of themselves, for two reasons; first, because it was nobody's business; secondly, because if it were, they did not hold themselves bound to attend to any body's business but their own;' and the most that could be gotten from them was, 'there are three of us, Bardolph, Peto and I.' This cavalier air, together with the mystery, and the bold declaration, 'we care not what the public think of us,' put the public upon guessing and thinking about them and nothing else. Whether it was the sagacity of the people, or that eagerness to be found out, which we see in little children at hide-and-go-seek, which discovered them, we cannot tell, but it was not long before the authors of Salmagundi were as well known as their writings. Probably the secrecy was a mere matter of sport, and that after it had served its turn, they cared little whether they were known or not. It is now well understood who the gentlemen were, and that Mr. Washington Irving was the principal contributor to the work. Knickerbocker, which was published not long after, was written wholly by him, as are also the numbers of the Sketch Book which have just appeared.

Though the surest way of judging of a man's talents is

les Prisons.' In this extract there is a horrible picture of the state of prisons in Paris.

from his writings, it is a very uncertain one, by which to form an opinion of his moral character. Yet we have as little doubt about the good principles and kind-heartedness of the author before us merely from reading his works, as we could have, had we known him for years. The interest which he makes us feel in him is one reason why we now go back to his former productions, for we have no hesitation in saying at the outset, that we consider the good papers of Salmagundi, and the greater part of Knickerbocker, superior to the Sketch Book. Another, is the intention we have all along had of noticing most of such American books, whether of a later or earlier date, as may add to our literary character.

In doing this, we hope to be free from any disposition to sneer at a book, because written while our literary reputation is so low. On the other hand, we shall not care to flatter the vanity of those who think to raise themselves and the country to a high rank in authorship, through much and earnest talking about it. We shall examine a work without any home feelings—our only business is with its merits and faults. We have many times forborne making amusement for ourselves and our readers from the trashy works which are daily turned out, because there is little danger of their doing much harm. When one considers how pleasant and easy a thing it is to run upon the follies and vanity of our neighbours, we may be allowed to take some credit to ourselves, for this self-denial, especially when it is known that we are now lying under the displeasure of a multitude of authors for this very silence, which is all from our good will towards them and regard for our country.

Though there has been much abuse abroad of our literary character, and too little allowed to circumstances, yet that abuse is rather in the spirit in which facts have been stated than in a falsifying of the facts themselves. Would we give our anger time to cool—place ourselves in the situation of England—consider the number of men of learning and genius who have risen, clustering like stars, to be her light and glory, since we became a nation, and then look over our own land at the few dim, blinking lights, with only here and there one of steady and bright blaze, so distant that 'fire answers not fire;' we should allow something to the sound of triumph and rejoicing, which is heard from the midst of her splendour—we should be moved with the spirit of forgiveness if

we would consider what would be our language of boasting were our situation hers. Without any regard to this, we at once become exceeding angry—begin to talk in large and general terms of American genius and enterprise, forgetting that first-rate authors are not as easily made, as prime sailors and soldiers. We do not stop to ask ourselves whether this universal talent for action in our country may not be inconsistent with that abstract, ideal, and reflective cast of mind, which marks those whose lives appear to be unmixed thought —whose intellectual being seems kindled, and whose passions work most violently in worlds of their own creating.—In the eagernesss of defence, we urge the necessary employment of the talents of a young country upon the gainful and useful, and looking forward to the time when we shall no longer be rovers through wild regions, but settled down quietly, and full of wealth, we speak of that as the period when we shall have our host of scientific men, great scholars and poets, moralists and novelists, to be our boast and delight. But if the English superciliously tell us, that they can furnish us with intellectual nourishment till these ends are accomplished, we forget the very argument we are using as a reason for our deficiency, and deny our need of their aid—run over our small list of writers, good, bad, and indifferent, and make up with long and heated declamation for all that is wanting.

Some have been so far gone in their zeal, as to utter a cry of affected mourning over the decay of learning and genius in Europe, and with that happy talent of making the future present, so common to us, and which has been scoffingly called our 'figure of anticipation,' have congratulated their country upon having become the home of the intellectual greatness of man. Others hold a lamentation over the thraldom of mind in England, and talk of our letting it out from its dark, close prison-house.

We should be happy to learn of these men, what there may be in religion, politics, the sciences and literature, which has not been discussed by her authors often and freely. In political and religious freedom, we may have put in practice what they have taught, but they have left us little in the leading principles of these, to discover. A short time ago, when the world was talking of discoveries in politics as familiarly as of discoveries in geography, it was curious to look into the

older writers of Europe, and see with how many of these new-found wonders they were acquainted. Society at large has gone forward rapidly, but great minds have always reasoned and felt very much as they do now. Though their vigour of thought was sometimes turned from its right action by the prejudices and superstition of the age, still they have been our instructers in much, wherein we have fancied ourselves self-taught. At any rate, we cannot, as yet, believe, that because the people of England are living under old institutions, they are so enslaved in body or mind, as to call forth our pity, but think that it will be time enough for us to give utterance to our mixed feelings of triumph and grief, when the scholars, philosophers, and poets of America shall furnish study for a man's life; when their views shall be so broad and liberal, that the authors of England shall become dangerous to our freedom of mind, and those who have hitherto been our instructers in all that is moral, lofty, and pure within us, shall be shunned as corrupting and degrading our natures. Indeed, it is not yet time to empty our shelves of European lumber to make way for American writers,—there is still room enough for them in the vacancies left. An American library would, we fancy, be rather a sorry and heart-sickening sight to a literary man.

Such notions are almost too ludicrous to be hinted at. Yet if we examine nakedly those which have so often of late been forced upon us, we shall find them the same, only curiously stuffed out and dressed up. This sort of contest deserves no better name than squabbling, and we are sorry to find men engaged in it who are fitted for better things.

The class of men abroad who affect this vulgar triumph over us, with an exception or two, are not those who add to the superiority of which they boast. Of those at home, who will not stay to consider how much there may be of truth in charges so rudely urged, some are restless through wounded vanity and from feeling their own importance lessening with that of the order to which they belong, while others, with more generosity and no less zeal, enter into the contest because their country is assailed.

We do not affect to be wholly unmoved by either of these feelings; yet it is more in sorrow than in anger that we read the contemptuous reflections upon our literary character, because with all their colouring there is too much of truth, and be-

cause even the hope that a brighter day is breaking upon us, loses something of its gladness, at the thought of how small a change even literature makes in the character of its followers.

A man, who cares at all for his own nature, may well forget all distinctions of place in the sense of pain and disappointment, that minds, whose labours and joys would seem to lie apart from the confused strugglings and evil envyings of the world, who are left to love the beauties of ideal excellence, and to study the deformities of vice only to show them to the world—whose toils are for the world's uses, and whose dreams of delight give it purifying pleasures,—that such minds should turn away from all these, to be heated and depraved in petty bickerings and low strife. He who values literature for its moral uses, for its cleansing of the heart and exalting of the mind, and not from the vanity of scholarship—who loves it for its own sake more than for its distinctions—cannot but lament to find it degraded to the service of false pride and sour malignity. First rate genius has but little of this, and where they are found together it is to the mind's hurt. Every taint of vice is a dimming of intellectual brightness, and the taking away of one good feeling from the heart is shutting out forever countless visions of beauty and delight from the mind. Could this language of boasting on the one side, and of contempt on the other, be kept up without harm, a war of words will never raise us to distinction, nor make us deserving of it. We must take another course to bring us to a level with the literary men of Europe.

In the first place, to have learned men, it would be fortunate if half our colleges or universities, as they are sometimes called, were turned into good schools, and the funds of the rest given to one or two large institutions for fellowships and other purposes. As this cannot be effected, men of wealth must make their donations to those institutions which have already the greatest advantages. Nor let them consider this as granting a favour, or conferring honour on others. It is for their own glory, without which they will live with no other distinction than the poor one of wealth, and when they die, their names will go down with them to their graves, and they will sink from the memory of man, faster than they rose into his notice.

We are not of those who think mere scholars useless. They deserve praise for the example of industry which they set before us, and for the helps which they afford not only to the world at large, but to men of genius in a thousand ways. Neither is it of good tendency to underrate those who are thorough in any calling, in a country were each one does every thing, and nothing well. True, they have their reward; for if their merits are not understood, the mystery of their calling makes them the gods of the ignorant, and if holden lightly by some, they have consolation in their own self-esteem. It is true, that mere learning does not give a nation its great name; and what would England have been with her Bentleys and Porsons, without her Shakspeare and Milton? Neither have many of those works which make a nation's reading been written within college walls; and some of those, which are most familiar to us, are from men who never wore a gown or square cap. Still, the influence of literary institutions upon society reaches to the uneducated author, and the effect of their early discipline is felt by the educated after they go into the world. Suppose such institutions at an end, or what would be as bad, with just science enough to instruct head workmen in the mechanic arts, or a sailor how to take a lunar observation, or, according to a system of intellectual economics, to 'teach no more than can be turned to some account;' how long would there be left any reward for mental toil, or any excitement to peculiar genius? Those who are most fond of trying things by their usefulness know least of the great uses of life.

More is necessary to our literary character; and changes must be wrought in society at large, without which all arbitrary institutions will first become mere things of show, and then decay.

If we allow society to have any effect upon first rate minds, perhaps genius is no where more likely to die at its opening than in this country. The peculiar fitness of our state for general talent and activity of character, is that which is most in the way of individual genius. Men of genius are a sort of outlaws, because too few as yet to form a class in our society, and because, for the most part, they want that *getting along* faculty which is naturally enough made the measure of a man's mind in a young country, where every one has his fortune to make. This call for business talent may continue to

put a check upon the higher kind of literature, as by the division of property the sons of men of wealth are turned down from books into the order of watchful and eager men of business, and the common way must be that the works of genius, if not wholly laid aside, will no longer fill up hours of lonely thoughtfulness, nor keep a strong hold upon their hearts. Men of acute minds, to be sure, yet uninformed, take place of the learned rich, and in this continual shifting, the exalted but silent movements of great minds are crossed and broken in upon.

This, at least, seems the natural course of things. Without a rivalry which might stimulate men of newly acquired property to raise themselves to the level with hereditary wealth, by building up some part of their character along with that of a man of genius; they feel distinctly what has given undisputed consequence to themselves, and would make that the rate of his importance too. The luxuries of sense are new to them. Lofty rooms and gay furniture still draw their attention and make their pride, and it is hardly yet forgotten how fine a thing is a fine coach. Satiety of outward wealth has not turned them to the riches of the mind.

Let us not be misunderstood. If there be any thing of truth in our loose suggestions, we would hardly forego the substantial good which our political equality has given us, for the mere luxuries of mind. It often falls out, however, that facts run counter to theories, and experience and prophecy seldom meet. It may be, that with the wealth of the country will come in a better taste, and that instead of growing more sensual we shall become more intellectual—that we shall, one day, buy pictures as well as looking-glasses, and that in good time an author will be set as much by as an Argand lamp, or an imported chimneypiece. Even now, there are many well educated among the wealthy, and some have laboured to improve themselves later in life; and in most of them there is a generosity of character needing nothing but a right direction. All that has been done of late for public institutions has been by rich individuals; and when they shall have learned how to value original creative minds, these, too, will receive their respect and support.

This must be brought about by a middle class—men of improved intellects who are labouring in the different callings of public life. And here the evils from change of property

may, perhaps, find their cure. A young man of cultivated mind, thrown into that order of society, which, after all, is the most efficient, will have an influence over those who have succeeded him in the rank of wealth, which will lead them to support and encourage those whose powers they may not clearly understand.

Our scholars, though a little apart from society, have an influence in it which might be used to the same end. Here again there is something in the way of the mere man of genius. Our scholars, though less learned than those of Europe, hold properly enough a high rank in society. They form a numerous class, and being in many ways connected with the world, have that authority which talents and acquirements always carry with them. The European scholar has only a portion of power and influence; for there, to say the least, genius has kept pace with learning, and holden as wide sway. Here we begin with the learned, of whom it is asking a little more self sacrifice than is often found in humanity, to give up into other hands a part of that power which they now exercise alone. The European scholar, when he has an eye to see, has nothing of this to take from his admiration, when the brightness of a new mind breaks upon him; for suns have for ages been coming up in that horizon, making a noonday blaze, and never has he thought to see them quenched in his own borrowed and fainter light. But those here might not only feel that self estimation which undivided power gives, sinking away, but the fear of losing their influence might startle them, to find a man of untaught powers suddenly rising to a height which they can never reach, or one, like Milton, with as much of other men's knowledge as they, using it as the stuff of his own mind, building a temple in which they may be the worshippers, but can never be the gods.

It would be a narrow prejudice to suppose men,—whose studies from childhood have been fitted to enlarge the mind, and bring them acquainted with its beauties,—so moved by selfishness as to shut the doors upon all outward excellencies, and live in complacent contemplation of themselves. We speak of that which is natural to all of us,—of that which is common to the learned and the ignorant, the man of genius and the fool—a proneness in favor of our own sect, which leads us unawares to judge hardly of those not of it—to be

quicksighted to their defects and careless of what is good in them—to feel our own importance growing with that of those we belong to; and, unconscious of our motives, if not pleased, yet not sorrowing at the ill success of others.

We need not go thus far to find why mere scholars (we mean those whose reputation rests on their acquisitions and studied correctness alone, and not those amongst us who have laid open to the world the rich veins of thought in their own minds) are so slow to see and acknowledge what is good in a new author. The habit of referring to certain rules, makes them doubtful of every thing that cannot be tried by them; and reading under old authority, with the mind at school, takes away from their freedom of judgment—leads them to consider every thing new, as dangerous innovation, and to look upon it with a mixed feeling of superiority and alarm. Besides this, an exclusive study of the classics is much like living in a foreign country, with which we can never become so intimate, as to have the feelings of a native, and must always be in some degree on the outside of its society, at the same time that our old associations are fading and dropping off. The early familiarity with the thoughts and feelings of home may make them appear vulgar to such men—and from the mistaken notion that a knowledge of what is best there can be reached without toil, they let it fall into neglect. What is foreign, too, will always have so much of show and dress to their eyes, that they cannot but look upon it as something a great deal finer than they ever saw at home, and because they cannot make themselves masters of it, they consider it superior to all they have before attained to. Giving up thus entirely, when we go to books, the delights, fears and superstitions of our infancy—all that we connect with the thoughts of our ancestors, and that which has helped in forming what is peculiar in ourselves and the society in which we live,—is apt to put the mind into too artificial a mood, to perceive, even in those authors of which we are the most fond, their greatest because their most simple and natural beauties. And knowing little how variously nature works, we are for bringing every thing to our own forced state.

We have hinted at the evil effects of confining the mind to the classics, not from a foolish wish to lessen the study of them in this country. No man of good taste who had begun

to be acquainted with them early, and has neglected them in after life, but will think of it with regret; and the greatest consolation which he will find is, that some of their precepts are still with him, and some of their images still floating before him, and that though most of them may be forgotten, the labour of once acquiring them has given a lasting vigour and elasticity to his mind. If the danger we have spoken of really exists, there is an easy and delightful way of avoiding it, by adding to the classics a thorough acquaintance not only with modern, but early English literature. Every literary man in England is familiar with it. All her poets and great prose writers, who for the most part have been classical scholars, made the early literature of their country their study. Milton, to say nothing of Gray, was as well versed in it, as in that of Greece and Rome, and turned it to as good account; and Burke, the most poetical of the late prose writers, did not forget it through all the heat and contest of political life.

If we have spoken freely of the failings of scholars, it is not from a disposition to fault-finding, nor from a blindness to their use and merit. Each class has its errors; to the wealthy is pride, to the poor, envy—and to the favoured of mind, an impatience of the talk, and a supercilious indifference to the opinions of ordinary men. Through the large variety of life there never will be wanting something to put in motion the evil as well as the good of our natures, and trusting to the strength of our virtue, we are ever failing through its weakness.

Whatever we have said has been from anxiety for the literary character of our country. We would warn those who are to encourage and support it, against a narrowness of taste,—a taming down by confined notions of faultlessness. Original minds will be peculiar and individual; and it is not for us to haggle at every thing new; but look at it with care, and see if there may not be some beauties in its novelties, and whether what at first appeared a deformity, may not have its fair proportions, and movements no less graceful and natural, because all its own. We must be careful not to complain too much of that of which, after allowing something to the eccentricities of genius, we may not approve. Those who have produced what is lasting have always been fond of working in their own way. For the most part, we should

be content with them as we find them, lest with that perversity, so common to such minds, they run more into the fault; or in the endeavour to remove it, tear away some beauty, which was more closely connected with it than we were aware of. Some have complained of Milton's inversions, and they are now and then overstrained. Had he begun to correct them, who can tell where he would have stopped—had he listened, some pedant critic might have spoiled the loftiest and most varied harmony of English verse. In the same way, Cowper's rhyme might have lost all its spirit, and had Wordsworth in the Excursion given more compactness and vigour to his thoughts, where they are sometimes languid from being drawn out, he might have lost something of that calm, moral sentiment, of that pure shedding of the soul over his world of beauties, which lies upon them like gentle and thoughtful sunset upon the earth.

The giant minds of England grew up in times when there was less of order in society,—no critics, few rules, and those slighted. They have their absurdities, affectations and conceits; but what are all these, when we feel the breathing upon us of that spirit which was given to them alone. Sir Joshua Reynolds says, 'that deformity came in with the dancing master;'—and if too great constraint upon the body's movements not only takes from them their elegance, but gives to them an awkwardness in its stead, it is the same thing with the mind. How would the studied graces of Chesterfield appear by the side of a well made savage, and who can remember without laughter, Hogarth's Frenchman with head erect and toes turned out, telling the grand figure of Antinous, with his fine curved neck, and firm set foot, to hold up his head and look like him? It is strange to see how the motions of the body give the character of the mind, and there is something besides ingenuity in the remark of Sterne, 'that there are a thousand unnoticed openings which let a penetrating eye at once into a man's soul, and that a man of sense does not lay down his hat on coming into a room—or take it up in going out—but something escapes which discovers him.' The French tied up their writers, with the little inspiration they had, as if they were madmen, till well might Madame De Stael ask, 'why all this reining of dull steeds?' At the same time, they taught the world to hold as uncouth the movements natural to man,

and to admire sudden, sharp, angular shootings of the limbs as the only true lines of beauty. Yet the polite world not long ago read and talked nothing but French, and 'went to church in a galliard, and came home in a coranto.'

Our analogy, perhaps, is hardly in place, and we will run it no further; but will close our general remarks by once more urging those, who may have an influence over our writers, to use it with liberal minds, honestly looking for what is good, and not dealing harshly with what is doubtful. We do not mean that the eccentricities and faults of men, who show some talent, should be passed over in silence, for this would be no compliment to their intellects; but that the good may be weighed against the bad, fairly and openly, without bitterness or ridicule, and above all, that they may not be shackled by 'those rules by which little minds fancy they may be able to comprehend great things.'

With the exception of a few editors of magazines and reviews, Mr. Irving is almost the only American, who has attempted to support himself by literary labours. Mr. Walsh began with a book of very respectable size, and most excellent matter, but that was political, and we were all politicians then. He, too, soon thought best to undertake periodical works, but they came to the same end with others, after much toil, little praise, and less money. Brown wrote novels; but was obliged to turn to the making up of political registers and magazines. It is true, that the English, who are slow enough in giving us praise, had his novels in every tolerable circulating library in the kingdom—and that Godwin spoke of them with commendation. We at home, who talk so much about the literary character of America, knew little or nothing about them. They were read in New York and Philadelphia by his personal friends, and there were some half dozen in this part of the country, a few years ago, who had seen one or two of his works—liked them exceedingly, but took them up, and laid them down, for English.—The first edition of Franklin appeared abroad, and there are one or two other works of merit which are waiting for notice from the same quarter.

We must not forget, however, to make one exception from our general neglect of American authors, for therein is our boast—our very liberal patronage of the compilers of geographies in great and little, reading books, spelling books

and arithmetics. It is encouraging to our literary adventurers, that should they fail to please the public in works of invention, they have at last this resort, and the consolation that if they are not to rank with the poets and novel writers of the day, they may be studied and admired till Pike and Webster are forgotten.

Jesting apart, we have to thank Mr. Irving for being the first to begin and persevere in works which may be called purely literary. His success has done more to remove our anxiety for the fate of such works, than all we have read or heard about the disposition to encourage American genius.

Mr. Irving's success does not rest, perhaps, wholly upon his merit, however great. Salmagundi came out in numbers, and a little at a time. With a few exceptions it treated of the city—what was seen and felt, and easy to be understood by those in society. It had to do with the present and real, not the distant and ideal. It was exceedingly pleasant morning or after-dinner reading, never taking up too much of a gentleman's time from his business and pleasures, nor so exalted and spiritualized as to seem mystical to his far reaching vision. It was an excellent thing in the rests between cotillions, and pauses between games at cards; and answered a most convenient purpose, in as much as it furnished those who had none of their own, with wit enough for sixpence, to talk out the sitting of an evening party. In the end, it took fast hold of people, through their vanity; for frequent use had made them so familiar with it as to look upon it as their own; and having retailed its good things so long, they began to run of the notion that they were all of their own making.

It was fortunate, too, that the work made its first appearance in New York—'where the people—heaven help them—are the most irregular, crazy-headed, quicksilver, eccentric, whim-whamsical set of mortals that ever were jumbled together.' Had it first shown its face in any other part of the country, how soon would it have been looked out of countenance, and talked down by your 'honest, fair, worthy, square, good-looking, well meaning, regular, uniform, straight forward, clock-work, clear headed, one-like-another, salubrious, upright, kind of people!'

New York being a city of large and sudden growth, with people from all parts of the country, and many foreigners, individuals there do not feel every chance sarcasm or light

ridicule or some foible in the rank or set they belong to, as a personal attack, as is the case in smaller cities, where sets must be small, too, or as in older cities, where they are more distinctly marked. Neither have they enough of clanship in the different classes into which society will always be in some degree divided, to allow any lady or gentleman authority to dictate what a man shall be taken into favor for, and for what he shall be put down. One there, who can do it well, may laugh at follies, as well, at those in fashion, as at those out; nor will any wait to be told whether they are to laugh too. If ladies of all sizes and complexions, in heat and cold chose to wear red, he may ridicule it, though all the rage, and that in print, too; nor will the female patrons of Mrs. Toole and Madame Bouchard, banish him from society, because he ventured to say that muslin walking dresses in wet weather were not quite the thing.

In hinting what there might be in accidental circumstances to help to the early popularity of Salmagundi, we must not be understood as questioning its right to all, and more than it obtained. To say that it was out of all comparison the ablest work of wit and humour which we had produced, would be saying very little of it; for we had done but little before this. McFingal is just enough like Hudibras to remind you that it was intended as an imitation of it, and the Foresters, though written by a man of rather uncommon talents, and in a very clear, familiar, natural style, and such as we scarce meet with at home, nowadays, is remarkable only for a careful ingenuity in keeping up its allegorical character. It professes to be nothing more than the application of Swift's John Bull to the concerns of this country with Great Britain. And except in the wit and quick fancy of that work, it is a close copy; but it is as guiltless of its wit, as it is of its indelicacy; for there are but two or three places to shock the most sensitively refined, and no more to make the merriest laugh.

Mr. Irving has taken the lead here, in the witty, humourous and playful cast of works—those suited to our happier feelings,—while Brown harasses us with anxiety and strange terror. He has not modelled himself upon any body, but has taken things just as he found them, and treated them according to his own humour. So that you never feel as when looking at the works just mentioned, that you have

gotten a piece of second-hand furniture, scraped and varnished till made to look fine and modern, that it may be put to a new use. His wit and humour do not appear to come of reading witty and humorous books; but it is the world acting upon a mind of that cast, and putting those powers in motion. There are parts, it is true, which remind you of other authors, not, however, as imitations, but resemblances of mind. In Knickerbocker, particularly, though it may be hard to point out in what the likeness consists, you frequently think of Sterne. It, however, would have been just the book it now is, though Sterne had never written.

Amidst the abundance of his wit and drollery, you never meet with any bilious sarcasm. He turns aside from the vices of men to be amused with their affectation and foibles; and the entertainment he finds in these seems to be from a pure goodness of soul—a sense that they are seldom found in thoroughly depraved and hardened hearts. The mind is relieved when it can shake off the secret malignity, violent hate, proud oppression and unsparing selfishness of man, and look at him with all his follies showing themselves with a vain, but honest ostentation upon the outside of him—pleased with himself, and fancying the world pleased with him, too, and wishing well to it from his very error. For though foppery seems the most selfish thing in nature, yet a fop, for the most part, is the best tempered creature in the world; so that old fashioned censoriousness, which has lived upon the diseases of other minds—forever finding something bad, in what is mainly good, till tired of itself and all else,—is ready to give over its calling in despair, and turn foppling too, that it may be reconciled to itself and the world again.

Amiableness is so strongly marked in all Mr Irving's writings as never to let you forget the man; and the pleasure is doubled in the same manner as it is in lively conversation with one for whom you have a deep attachment and esteem. There is in it also, the gayety and airiness of a light, pure spirit—a fanciful playing with common things, and here and there beautiful touches, till the ludicrous becomes half picturesque.

Though many of the characters and circumstances in Salmagundi are necessarily without such associations, yet the Cocklofts are not only the most witty and eccentric, but the

most thoroughly sentimental folks in the world, like some of the characters in the Spectator, and like Trim, and that best of men, my Uncle Toby. And here we would notice a resemblance in our author to Sterne. With a very few exceptions, his sentiment is in a purer taste, and better sustained, where it is mixed with witty and ludicrous characters and circumstances, than where it stands by itself. He not only shows a contemplative, sentimental mind, but what is more rare, a power of mingling with his wit, the wild, mysterious and visionary. Glimpses of this appear in his Rip Van Winkle, and the same fine combination is seen in the 'Two Painters' and 'the Paint King' of Mr Allston. It is a very uncommon union of qualities, and one which no man, who has it in him, should neglect.

It looks a little like impertinent interference to advise a man to undertake subjects of a particular sort, who is so well suited for variety in kind. Nor do we wish that Mr. Irving should give up entirely the purely witty, or humorous, for those of a mixed nature. We would only express our opinion of the deep interest which such writings excite, and of his peculiar fitness for them; and at the same time suggest to him the great advantages he gains by changing from one to the other. For ourselves, we have no fear of being tired of his wit or humour, so long as they come from him freely. He is much more powerful in them, than in the solely sentimental or pathetic.

We give him joy of making his way so miraculously, as not to offend the dignity of many stately folks, and pray him go on and prosper. It was a bold undertaking in a country where we are in the habit of calling humour, buffoonery—and wit, folly. The notion is singular enough—but there are many who hold, that for a wit to be a gentleman—there is nothing more strange. It is in course that people, ignorant of its nature, should fall into this confusion. The misfortune is, that they should commit themselves by an opinion uncalled for. We have seen some curb up at a witticism let fall in their presence, as at an unbecoming familiarity, and others amusingly vehement against it. So that mother wit would, in all likelihood, have been banished genteel company, had not Mr. Irving, in a lucky moment, given her his countenance. We have our fears of being unduly sprightly, and have forborn many a good thing, lest we should be taken to

task for sacrificing our dignity and decorum. The commission of this offence is considered much more heinous in writing, than in conversation. For being rather raw in authorship, and feeling all the while as put upon our good behaviour, and not knowing well how to distinguish between freedom and coarseness, and avoiding the former lest we fall into the latter, we become very proper and very common.

Mr. Irving's style in his lighter productions, is suited to his subject. He has not thought it necessary to write the history of the family of the Giblets as he would that of the Gracchi, nor to descant upon Mustapha's Breeches in all the formality of a lecture. He is full, idiomatic and easy to an uncommon degree; and though we have observed a few grammatical errors, they are of a kind which appear to arise from the hurry in which such works are commonly written. There are, likewise, one or two Americanisms. Upon the whole, it is superior to any instance of the easy style in this country, that we can call to mind. That of the Foresters is more free from faults than Mr. Irving's, but not so rich. The principal defect in his humourous style is a multiplying of epithets, which, making no new impression, weaken from diffusion. It is too much like forcing a good thing upon us till we think it good for nothing. We make no objection to a style rich with epithets, which have fitness and character, unless they are strung along so as to look like a procession. But Mr. Irving's are sometimes put upon a service for which they were never intended, and only occasion confusion and delay.

Another fault, and one easily to be avoided, is the employing of certain worn out veterans in the cause of wit. Indeed, we owe it to him to say, that we believe he has now dismissed them, as we do not meet with them in the Sketch Book. We will mention a few, as instances. Gaffer Phœbus, Daddy Neptune, Dan Homer, Dame Nature, Dame Fortune. Also a mock gravity, in the use of such antiquated phrases as, 'eftsoons, ycleped, whilome,' &c. Like the German princes, we suppose, having no further use for them, he let them out for that most unfortunate expedition up mount Parnassus, under the conduct of the famous Backwoodsman, in which fatal service, we presume they perished with their leader; for as far as we were able to follow them, we found that they were put to constant and hard duty.

Another fault, which is found principally in Knickerbocker, is that of forcing wit as if from duty—running it down, and then whipping and spurring it into motion again—as in that part upon the different theories of philosophers. Wit must appear to come accidentally, or the effect is lost. The moment we see any forecasting, it is all over with it. The great superiority of Swift, lies as much in the manner in which his good things come from him, as in the things themselves. If he keeps you in a roar of laughter for half a score pages, you are fully persuaded that he could no more help it, than a dull man could, putting you to sleep in the same compass. And where it is not continuous, but comes in here and there amidst his fine, plain sense, it is always a part of the fabric, and never patched on. It is needless to say, that, were this defect frequent in Mr. Irving, it would be fatal. No doubt, a good deal might be taken from Knickerbocker, which would leave it more sustained and vivid; yet, after the witty and humourous works of a few of the English standard authors, there are no books of the kind in the language half so entertaining, in which the circumstances are so ludicrous, and the characters so well sustained and made out.

It was our intention in the outset to have given several extracts, throwing in, as we went along, such remarks upon each as might occur to us. But becoming interested in the subject, and discoursing upon it loosely and generally enough, to be sure, it has grown under our hands so as to leave little room for selections. We will, therefore, only refer our readers to a few places; and in order to get over the bad first, we will remark that we have been able to find very little wit, and no poetry in what pass for the poetical articles. The attack upon Dr. Caustick is petulant and coarse, and is an exception to the perfect good nature which is found in every other part of Salmagundi. We know not what wonders the Dr. performed to throw the gentlemen so off their guard, but doubt whether they were, in reason, enough to raise the anger of such men as the authors of that work.

Notwithstanding the length of it we must extract a good part of Will Wizard at a ball. His character is a masterpiece—full of wit, drollery, oddity, and good feeling, with an unsated appetite for long stories, and a most ludicrous uncouthness of person.

'On calling for Will in the evening, I found him full dressed,

waiting for me. I contemplated him with absolute dismay. As he still retained a spark of regard for the lady who once reigned in his affections, he had been at unusual pains in decorating his person, and broke upon my sight arrayed in the true style that prevailed among our beaux some years ago. His hair was turned up and tufted at the top, frizzled out at the ears, a profusion of powder puffed over the whole, and a long plaited club swung gracefully from shoulder to shoulder, describing a pleasing semicircle of powder and pomatum. His claret colored coat was decorated with a profusion of gilt buttons, and reached to his calves. His white casimere small cloths were so tight that he seemed to have grown up in them; and his ponderous legs, which are the thickest part of his body, were beautifully clothed in sky-blue silk stockings, once considered so becoming. But above all, he prided himself upon his waiscoat of China silk, which might almost have served a good housewife for a short-gown; and he boasted that the roses and tulips upon it were the work of *Nang-Fou*, daughter of the great *Chin-Chin-Fou*, who had fallen in love with the graces of his person, and sent it to him as a parting present—he assured me she was a remarkable beauty, with sweet obliquity of eyes, and a foot no longer than the thumb of an alderman;—he then dilated most copiously on his silver sprigged Dicky, which he assured me was quite the rage among the dashing young mandarins of Canton.

'I hold it an ill-natured office to put any man out of conceit with himself; so, though I would willingly have made a little alteration in my friend Wizard's picturesque costume, yet I politely complimented him on his rakish appearance.

'On entering the room, I kept a good look out on Will, expecting to see him exhibit signs of surprise; but he is one of those knowing fellows who are never surprised at any thing, or at least will never acknowledge it. He took his stand in the middle of the floor, playing with his great steel watch chain, and looking round on the company, the furniture and the pictures, with the air of a man "who had seen d——d finer things in his time;" and to my utter confusion and dismay, I saw him coolly pull out his villanous old japanned tobacco-box, ornamented with a bottle, a pipe, and a scurvy motto, and help himself to a quid in face of all the company.'

On seeing young Billy Dimple cross the room with a lady, he takes occasion to bring in one of his long stories.

'A very pretty young gentleman, truly,' cried Wizard, 'he reminds me of a cotemporary beau at Hayti. You must know that the magnanimous Dessalines gave a great ball to his court

one fine sultry summer's evening ; Dessy and me were great cronies—hand and glove—one of the most condescending great men I ever knew. Such a display of black and yellow beauties ! such as how of madrass handkerchiefs, red beads, cocks' tails and pea-cocks' feathers !—it was, as here, who should wear the highest top-knot, drag the longest tails, or exhibit the greatest variety of combs, colours and gew-gaws. In the middle of the rout, when all was buz, slip-slop, clack and perfume, who should enter but TUCKY SQUASH ! The yellow beauties blushed blue, and the black ones blushed as red as they could, with pleasure ; and there was a universal agitation of fans—every eye brightened and whitened to see Tucky, for he was the pride of the court, the pink of courtesy, the mirror of fashion, the adoration of all the sable fair ones of Hayti. Such breadth of nose, such exuberance of lip ; his shins had the true cucumber curve—his face in dancing shone like a kettle ;—and, provided you kept to windward of him in summer, I do not know a sweeter youth in all Hayti than Tucky Squash. When he laughed, there appeared from ear to ear a chevaux-de-frize of teeth, that rivalled the shark's in whiteness ; he could whistle like a north-wester—play on a three-stringed fiddle like Apollo ; and as to dancing, no Long-Island negro could shuffle you 'double-trouble' 'or hoe corn and dig potatoes' more scientifically—in short he was a second Lothario, and the dusky nymphs of Hayti, one and all, declared him a perpetual Adonis. Tucky walked about, whistling to himself, without regarding any body ; and his *nonchalance* was irresistible.'

'I found Will had got neck and heels into one of his traveller's stories, and there is no knowing how far he would have run his parallel between Billy Dimple and Tucky Squash, had not the music struck up, from an adjoining apartment, and summoned the company to the dance. The sound seemed to have an inspiring effect on honest Will, and he procured the hand of an old acquaintance for a country dance. It happened to be the fashionable one of 'the Devil among the Tailors,' which is so vociferously demanded at every ball and assembly : and many a torn gown, and many an unfortunate toe did rue the dancing of that night ; for Will thundered down the dance like a coach and six, sometimes right, sometimes wrong, now running over half a score of little Frenchmen, and now making sad inroads into ladies' cobweb muslins and spangled tails. As every part of Will's body partook of the exertion, he shook from his capacious head such volumes of powder, that like pious Eneas on the first interview with queen Dido, he might be said to have been enveloped in a cloud. Nor was Will's partner an insignificant figure in the scene. She was a young lady of most voluminous propor-

tions, that quivered at every skip ; and being braced up in the fashionable style, with whalebone, stay-tape and buckram, looked like an apple-pudding tied in the middle, or, taking her flaming dress into consideration, like a bed and bolsters rolled up in a suit of red curtains. The dance finished—I would gladly have taken Will off, but no—he was now in one of his happy moods, and there was no doing any thing with him. He insisted on my introducing him to Miss Sophy Sparkle, a young lady unrivalled for playful wit and innocent vivacity, and who, like a brilliant, adds lustre to the front of fashion. I accordingly presented him to her, and began a conversation in which, I thought, he might take a share ; but no such thing. Will took his stand before her, straddling like a Colossus, with his hand in his pockets, and an air of the most profound attention, nor did he pretend to open his lips for some time, until upon some lively sally of hers, he electrified the whole company with a most intolerable burst of laughter. What was to be done with such an incorrigible fellow ?—To add to my distress, the first word he spoke was to tell Miss Sparkle that somthing she said reminded him of a circumstance that happened to him in China—and at it he went, in the true traveller style—described the Chinese mode of eating rice with chop sticks—entered into a long eulogium on the succulent qualities of boiled birds' nests, and I made my escape at the very moment when he was on the point of squatting down on the floor, to show how the little Chinese *Joshes* sit cross-legged.'

We are quite at a loss how to go on. We took up the book, in order to make a memorandum of what articles to refer to as particularly good ; but it was all in vain, for our list was becoming as long as the index, and we gave over the attempt.

Salmagundi is full of variety, and almost every thing good of its kind. Though upon an old plan, nothing can be better done than some of Mustapha's letters, particularly those upon a Military Review, and the City Assembly.—The account of the Cockloft family is full of good affections ; and they have not an oddity which you do not like them the better for ;—their attachment to the old mansion which underwent repairs after every storm—and to the servants who had grown old in it. 'The very cats and dogs are humorists, and we have a little runty scoundrel of a cur, who, whenever the church bell rings, will run to the street door, turn up his nose in the wind, and howl most piteously.' The description is so circumstantial, that you become quite domesticated

amongst them; and though so queer and eccentric, they are never overdrawn. It is one great excellence of Mr. Irving, that although he has sketched so many whimsical and strange characters, they seldom say or do any thing which is against probability.—Snivers at the theatre is a sprightly draught. Will Wizard could make nothing of his face. 'I might,' says he, 'as well have looked at the backside of his head.'—The rivalry between Mrs. Toole and Madam Bouchard, intimating a little too broadly how far high life is made up of little things, must be omitted. Wizard's visit to Ballston Springs, though forced in a small part of it, is highly entertaining. The elbowing, crowding, and scrambling at dinner, as also the philosophical discussion, which, we have understood, was quite the vogue there at the time, we shall pass by out of our respect for good company.—The paper upon Style, the same young cockney who first made his appearance at Ballston, 'in a gig and tandem, a pair of leather breeches, and with a liveried footman,' is in true character and spirit; as is the history of the Giblets, who would up and ride, too. That Salmagundi survived it, is a prodigy, for it must have been a true and faithful account of the birth and life of half the stylish families in New York, as it is of every other city. For their own sakes, to be sure, they would say nothing about style or or the Giblets, or if they did, with a forced smile and awkward compliment. But then it is so convenient, when one meets with any thing that comes home to him and makes him uneasy, to say, 'why, this is very well,' and then turn to a part he cares nothing about, be highly offended, and end with declaring, that 'such things will never do.'—As agreeable as they are, we have no room for 'Straddle,' nor 'my Aunt Charity, who died of a Frenchman!'—The Waltz, we presume, did not long survive Pindar Cockloft's account of it to the old ladies. It is but one instance in a thousand, how feeble a safeguard against sensuality is that which generally passes for polish and refinement.—My Uncle John is described with great delicacy; and the wit is softened down to cheerfulness, by the sentiment which runs through it. There is no truer indication of the morality and goodness of heart of a young man, than a certain reverential attachment to the old—a calm patience of their irritableness—a kindly assisting of their helplessness—a giving away to their prejudices, and a greater relish

for all that is entertaining and instructive in them, than for the same when found in younger men. There is a sober and chastised air of gayety diffused over the face of nature, peculiarly interesting to an old man,' say the Autumnal Reflections. It is like the serenity of a good old age; and he who does not feel and love them both while young, will find himself going out into a comfortless solitude, as he travels from the crowd in which he moved in his early years.—'Autumnal Reflections,' though here and there a little too youthful in expression, show a very true eye for nature, and are written in a very natural, moralizing strain, with a mingling of cheerfulness and sombreness, such as we feel the heart moved with, when looking at the earth and sky.—The same may be said of Cockloft Hall.

Here we were about quitting Salmagundi; but recollecting that we had not spoken of the Little Man in Black, we stop for a moment to say a word of him;—for who could have the heart to neglect him! The description of his dress and person are all of a piece with his character and situation —perfectly distinct to the eye, though quite short. The mystery which begins with his introduction, and is kept up almost to the last, excites just enough of anxious curiosity to increase the interest of the story, without at all interfering with the other feelings. Though perfectly simple, it is one of the most delightful little tales we can call to mind. The hard opinion which the village held of the suffering man—their abuse of him—his own meekness, and that of his harmless, short-legged dog—his miserable, though sublime death —the courtesy, shrinking delicacy, and humanity of old Cockloft, are all related with great pathos, and in a manner perfectly easy and natural. His turning out to be the last descendant of the renowned Linkum Fidelius, and leaving his large deal box, filled with the works of his ancestor, to old Cockloft, and bequeathing to him his dog, who became, 'father to a long line of runty curs that still flourish in the family,' coming in at the close, ease a little the aching of the heart, and leave one in 'a most humorous sadness.'

At parting company with Salmagundi, we cannot but say again, that though its wit is sometimes forced, and its serious style sometimes false, upon looking it over, we have found it full of entertainment, with an infinite variety of characters and circumstances, and with that amiable, good natur-

ed wit and pathos, which show that the heart has not grown hard while making merry of the world.

There is but little room left for Knickerbocker, of which we are glad to say, a third and very neat edition has lately been put out. As our remarks upon Salmagundi will apply equally well to this work, and an analysis of a story, which every one has read, is dull matter, we the less regret it. It has the same faults and same good qualities in its style, its wit and humour; and its characters are evidently by the same hand as the leading ones in Salmagundi, though not copies from them. They are perfectly fresh and original, and suited to their situations. Too much of the first part of the first volume is laborious and up hill; and there are places, here and there, in the last part, to which there is the same objection. Our feelings seldom flag in the second. The sturdy old Stuyvesant, who occupies so much of it, never wearies you. The account of the author could not have been better written; but our readers must go to the book for it. If they have not read the work for this last twelvemonth, and have the good fortune to be possessed of as poor memories as ourselves, they will be carried pleasantly through it.

We must leave the description of the ship Goede Vrouw, and take up that of the first governour of New Amsterdam, Wouter (or Walter) Van Twiller.

'His surname of Twiller is said to be a corruption of the original *Twijfler*, which in English means *doubter*; a name admirably descriptive of his deliberative habits. For though he was a man, shut up within himself like an oyster, and of such a profoundly reflective turn, that he scarcely ever spoke except in monosyllables, yet did he never make up his mind, on any doubtful point.'.....'There never was a matter proposed, however simple, and on which your common narrow minded mortals would rashly determine at the first glance, but what the renowned Wouter put on a mighty mysterious, vacant kind of look, shook his capacious head, and having smoked for five minutes with redoubled earnestness, sagely observed, that "he had his doubts about the matter"—which in process of time gained him the character of a man of slow belief, and not easily to be imposed upon.'

'The person of this illustrious old gentleman was as regularly formed and nobly proportioned, as though it had been moulded by the hands of some cunning Dutch statuary, as a model of majesty and lordly grandeur. He was exactly five feet six inches

in height, and six feet five inches in circumference. His head was a perfect sphere, far excelling in magnitude that of the great Pericles (who was thence waggishly called *Schenocephalus*, or onion head)—indeed, of such stupendous dimensions was it, that dame nature herself, with all her sex's ingenuity, would have been puzzled to construct a neck, capable of supporting it; wherefore she wisely declined the attempt, and settled it firmly on the top of his back bone, just between the shoulders; where it remained, as snugly bedded, as a ship of war in the mud of the Potowmac. His body was of an oblong form, particularly capacious at bottom; which was wisely ordered by providence, seeing that he was a man of sedentary habits, and very averse to the idle labour of walking. His legs, though exceeding short, were sturdy in proportion to the weight they had to sustain; so that when erect, he had not a little the appearance of a robustious beer barrel, standing on skids. His face, that infallible index of the mind, presented a vast expanse perfectly unfurrowed or deformed by any of those lines and angles, which disfigure the human countenance with what is termed expression. Two small grey eyes twinkled feebly in the midst, like two stars of lesser magnitude in a hazy firmament; and his full fed cheeks, which seemed to have taken toll of every thing that went into his mouth, were curiously mottled and streaked with dusky red, like a Spitzenberg apple.

'His habits were as regular as his person. He daily took his four stated meals, appropriating exactly an hour to each; he smoked and doubted eight hours, and he slept the remaining twelve of the four and twenty.

'With burghers whose minds seemed all to have been cast in one mould; and to be those honest, blunt sort of minds, which, like certain manufactures, are made by the gross, and considered as exceedingly good for the common use, the city grew like a mighty fungus, springing from a mass of rotten wood.'

The speculator's huge palace of pine boards, has been so often quoted, that almost every body has it nearly by heart.

Wilhelmus Kieft, the successor of Wouter, is drawn by way of contrast. His conduct upon the taking of fort Goed Hoop, is very characteristic, and his railing against the people of Connecticut on that occasion, is in as good a style of abuse as Swift would have made it.

After the death of this thin, bustling, fidgetting, noisy, do-little governour, whom the mob,—which he undertook in a way of his own, to enlighten,—'like a knot of Sunday jockies, managing an unlucky devil of a hack-horse, kept either on

a worry or a hand gallop, throughout the whole of his administration,'—came another kind of man, 'Peter Stuyvesant, or as he was otherwise called, Hard Koppig Piet, or Peter the Headstrong,' who taking his own course—a terror to his enemies, and heedless of all others, who stood agaze,—went through them with a stream of fire, like a comet, speeding onward, hot, blazing and sputtering through the stars.

'Dirk Schuilker (or Skulker) dubbed Galgenbrok, or Gallows Dirk,' a half Indian, who was a hanger-on at fort Cassimere, sometimes hunting and fishing, all alone, day after day, and for the rest of the time, employing himself in stealing, or getting drunk, alternately, or both together, as opportunity offered, has the poetical strangeness and wildness of some of the characters in Scott's novels. His making off with Van Poffenburgh's copper bound cocked hat, and Rising's jackboots in the confusion of the capture of the fort and stealing a boat to cross the river, when he carried to Governor Stuyvesant news of that event, keep up the spirit and truth of his character, in the midst of the hurry and importance of the affair, coming in like a pleasant accompaniment.

Stuyvesant's wrath upon hearing the news, his military preparations, voyage up the Hudson, the return of Poffenburgh to New Amsterdam, 'with a crew of hard swearers at his heels,—heroes of his own kidney, fierce whiskered, broad shouldered, colbrand looking swaggerers,—not one of whom but looked as if he could eat up an ox, and pick his teeth with his horns,' must all be past over. Stuyvesant's expedition to New England is finely set forth. His conduct upon his return to New Amsterdam—when blockaded by the English—and at the signing of articles of capitulation, is described with great vivacity and quick, shifting circumstances, all good. This is one of the choicest parts of the work. But no one can form any idea of this fine blooded old gentleman, whom we should be proud to claim as an ancestor, from any extracts we could make. His character is constantly breaking out here and there, and lighting the whole story.

We have made these few extracts and references, that Knickerbocker might be brought to the remembrance of our readers, should it have happened that they had forgotten it in the multitude of books which are daily coming out. We shall say nothing more upon it, unless we have occasion to refer to

it in the few remarks which we are about making upon the Sketch Book.

It was delightful meeting once more with an old acquaintance who had been so long absent from us; and we felt our hearts lightened and cheered when we, for the first time, took the Sketch Book into our hands. Foreigners can know nothing of the sensation; for authors are as numerous and common with them, as street acquaintances. We, who have only two or three, are as closely attached to them, as if they were our brothers. And this one is the same mild, cheerful, fanciful, thoughtful, humorous being that we parted with a few years ago, though something changed in manner by travel. We will be open with him, and tell him that we do not think the change is for the better. He appears to have lost a little of that natural run of style, for which his lighter writings were so remarkable. He has given up something of his direct, simple manner, and plain phraseology, for a more studied, periphrastical mode of expression. He seems to have exchanged words and phrases, which were strong, distinct and definite, for a genteel sort of language, cool, less definite, and general. It is as if his mother English had been sent abroad to be improved, and in attempting to become accomplished, had lost too many of her home qualities. We have pointed out the defects in his former style, and they were, no doubt, violent and obvious; yet not infused into the whole, but distinct and individual, and might be removed not only without injuring what remains, but leaving it firmer and even more entire. It was masculine—good bone and muscle—this is feminine, *dressy*, elegant and languid. The fact is, that what is idiomatic and essentially English—that which is in us and a part of us from old and familiar associations, and on which, too, the eye can rest as upon a picture,—has been laid aside for a language which is learned like a foreign one, and which must always be wanting to us, in some degree, in character, definiteness and nearness. We do not ask for a *conversational* style in books, (except where the subject, or mode of treating it, is light and familiar) though it is far better than that which is always impressing us as laboriously sought after, and cautiously put together. We shall save all trouble of defining and be better understood, by saying, at once, that we want nothing more than a style as English and easy (though with-

out the slips in grammar) as that of the often cited authority, Addison—a style as unlike that which passes in this country, at the present day, for pure and elegant composition, as it is different from the rich, gorgeous, poetic style of Jeremy Taylor, or the scarcely less poetic style of Burke. There is a good deal of the fault we have spoken of in Mr. Irving's notice of Roscoe; and he was not altogether free from it formerly, in what he laboured most, as, for instance, in his biography of Campbell. He too often aims at effect by a stately inversion of sentences. Another and a greater error, which is found principally in his serious and sentimental writings, is an incorrect use of figurative language, which is, frequently, from connecting a word, strictly an image, with one which is not, so as to present a picture to the mind's eye, and the next moment rub it out. This appears to be owing to a mere oversight, a want of considering that any figure was used. Another is, connecting two words which are figures, but quite hostile to one another, so that they seem brought together for no other purpose than to put an end to each other. This is sometimes from the same cause with the former, though it is often done with such an appearance of aim at figurative writing, as shows it is from the want of a clear and right perception of things,—seeing things indistinctly and confusedly. This misuse of figurative language, the inversion of sentences, and the inflated style (of which last Mr. Irving is, perhaps, never guilty,) must be put down under the head of American fine writing.

As an instance of what some may think elegant writing, but which appears to us feeble and affected, we refer our readers to the paragraph in his biography of Campbell, in which he speaks of our scenery as wanting poetical associations, and the one immediately following, in which the thought is continued. They are too long to quote. In the same article, he says of Campbell, 'He was left without further opposition, to the impulse of his own genius, and *the seductions of the muse*,' and again, he speaks of 'the richer and more *interesting field* of German belles-lettres.' Of Mr. Roscoe, he says, 'he has planted bowers by the way-side for the refreshment of the pilgrim and sojourner, and has *established* pure *fountains* which,' &c.—And again, 'Now dry and dusty with the *lizard and toad brooding* over the shattered marbles.' In the Broken Heart—'She is like some tender *tree*, the pride

and beauty of the grove; graceful in its form, bright in its foliage, but with the worm preying at its *core*.' In Rural Life in England—'and while it has thus banded society together, has *implanted* in each intermediate *link* a *spirit* of independence.' In the same:—'various strata of society, therefore, are diffused over the whole surface of the kingdom, and the most retired neighbourhoods afford specimens of the different ranks.'

It is no matter how many figures a writer uses, if his subject properly admits of them, and if he seems, without forcing himself to it, to think and feel in figure. But they must not,—indeed, then they hardly can be common. If they have been used before, there will be a novelty in their application, or in the language in which they are expressed, which will give them an air of originality.

We have made these short remarks, and given these few instances, because it is faults of this kind which make our style feeble and impure, rather than the use of Americanisms, as they are called. They are faults, too, not easily corrected, because slowly discovered, not only by ordinary readers, but even by those who do not themselves fall into the use of them. This defect of vision in picturesque language is the more singular in Mr. Irving, as he has an eye for nature, and all his pictures from it are drawn with great truth and spirit. The Sketch Book is extremely popular, and it is worthy of being so. Yet it is with surprise that we have heard its style indiscriminately praised.

We have already stated, why we consider Mr. Irving's former works, though more obviously bad in places, still, as a whole, superior in point of style to the Sketch Book. The same difference holds with respect to the strength, quickness and life of the thoughts and feelings. The air about this last work is soft, but there is a still languor in it. It is not breezy and fresh like that which was stirring over the others. He appears to us to have taken up some wrong notion of a subdued elegance, as different from the true, as in manners, the elegance of fashion is from that of character. There is an appearance of too great elaboration. We see that some one has been at work trying to give form and polish to it; but its regular shape is not half so beautiful as its natural irregularity—it is no brighter than before, and rich, sparkling masses have been broken off and lost. Something of

the vigour, firmness and spirit of the former works is gone, and there is too much diffusiveness in its stead. What was best done in the others, was wrought in the heat of the mind, and turned out glowing.

We have spoken of these defects in Mr. Irving as briefly as possible, for though our duty, yet it is irksome to remark upon the faults of a writer for whom every reader of any heart, must feel a personal attachment. We think, also, that he is so free from an impatience of correction, and a person of so good taste, that he will avoid such errors when once suggested to him.

The Author's Account of Himself, is written with simplicity; in the Voyage, the moralizing abstracted, state of mind at sea, is impressive and full of truth. Its character of vastness and unity makes us look upon the gigantic and wild movements of the ocean as those of a tremendous existence, who heedless of our littleness shakes us to nothing. The account of the shipwreck is given with distinctness, though we think it enfeebled, rather than strengthened, by the reflections. The plain story told by the captain leaves a deeper impression. There is a particularity and fearful presence in the account of the storm at sea which alarm us—the arrival of the ship at the pier-head, and the merchant to whom she is consigned, are described with all the verity of matter of fact. The sailor's wife would affect us more, did she not instantly bring to mind Crabbe's story of poor Sally; which breaks over the heart, sweeping away all its joys—leaving it forlorn and wasted. Where he speaks of Roscoe, all the kind feelings of his heart are stirred. We have no doubt the man is worthy of it. We think that Mr. Irving has overrated him as an author. His style answers very well to the description of his mansion. 'It is not in the purest taste, yet it has an air of elegance.' The early high reputation of his Life of Lorenzo de Medici, was owing to the subject, and its being written by a banker. It has very much declined since, though it will always hold a respectable rank amongst the works of the day. The Wife is a pleasing tale, though the plan and incidents are nearly worn out, having passed through so many common novels. There is nothing mawkish, however, in the manner in which the circumstances are related. The feelings and reflections are manly and elevated, and that purity of soul shines through

the whole of it, without which man can know little of what is in the heart of woman. The bitterness of a lonely sorrow to him who has found one to bear with him all his other griefs, no man else has tasted. With a heart all trust, yet brooding in secret over a misery, which he feels he has no right to make another share, and haunted by the sense that his very mercy may be a wrong to her that loves him—this bears down his spring of feeling, and brings a torpor upon life, making the world seem motionless and without a joy. He looks upon the cheerfulness of his wife and children as a vain delusion, and closes his eyes upon it sick and weary. Where he doubts not, in the midst of those he loves, and who are the world to him,—he sits alone in the darkness of his soul.

The Broken Heart has passages as beautiful and touching as any that Mr. Irving has written, but they are frequently injured by some studied, unappropriate epithet or phraseology which jars upon the feelings. The general reflections have a deep and tender thoughtfulness in them, and are much too good for the story. It is enough to meet in life with those who can make themselves over to one man, for lucre, or something worse or better, while their hearts are with another; but in a work of sentiment it is revolting. To see those 'who have had the portals of the tomb suddenly closed between them and the being they most loved on earth—who have sat at its threshold, as one shut out in a cold and lonely world, from whence all that was most lovely and loving had departed,'—to find such turning away from the grave before the grass has grown again over the broken earth, is the daily course of the world. But do not let it break in upon our visions and dreams. Let the world, which the imagination makes to itself, whether sad or cheerful, be still pure and exalted, that we may come from it touched and refined, and be not wholly of the coarse matter of the earth. To read of a woman whose love death has sanctified, whose heart is in the grave with him she loves—who talks with his spirit in the moon and the stars—yielding up a wasted body to another man, is loathsome. We have heard talk of the affections, as if they were all reason. This is a lie upon our mixed nature, when they concern our holy remembrances of the dead; and when turned towards the living, is a sophistry almost as dangerous as doctrines the most sensual. We are sorry to see

a mind so truly refined as Mr. Irving's thus carried away by the cant of the day.

Another fault—which is from the same false theory—is laying open to the common gaze and common talk, feelings the very life of which is secresy. In The Wife:—'I have noticed the mute rapture with which he would gaze upon her in company, of which her sprightly powers made her the delight, and how in the midst of applause, her eye would still turn to him, as if there alone she sought favour and acceptance.'

Again, when the husband and friend reach the cottage:—'a bright and beautiful face glanced out at the window and vanished.' What next? Why, in the presence of this friend, who must have felt sufficiently awkward through the scene, the husband 'caught her to his bosom—he folded his arms around her (Mr. Irving seldom uses, round or about) he kissed her again and again.'

In the Broken Heart, (founded on fact, it is said,) the female carries her sorrows, to show off at a masquerade—warbles a plaintive air at the foot of an orchestra, to the no small grief of the crowd which gathers about her—marries a man with an epaulet to each shoulder, and dies—of what? Of disappointed love. One would have thought she had found vent for it before this.

Mr. Irving must forgive us if we are a little earnest at seeing a man of his delicate and sensitive cast of mind, giving sanction to doctrines of so vulgar a kind. Miss Edgeworth makes one of her heroes read his love letters and talk of them in the street, as unmoved as he would talk about a purchase of teas or sugars. Another, in a morning ride, protests to his companions that he can never marry such a lady, for his heart was already engaged; and where his heart was, there only would he give his hand—and this very spiritedly, and all on horseback. A third declares his love upon his knees, in the presence of papa, mamma, and all the little brothers and sister. And why shouldn't he? Miss Edgeworth does these things from a defect in her system—upon a plan—and not from want of right feeling. Grace Nugent is all dignity, retired delicacy, and love.

Rip Van Winkle is our favorite amongst the new stories. We feel more at home in it with the author, than in any of this collection. Rip's idle good nature, which made him the

favorite of the boys—his 'aversion to all kinds of profitable labour,' 'thinking it no use to work upon his own farm because every thing about it went wrong, and would go wrong, in spite of him,' yet always ready to help his neighbours—'the foremost at husking frolics, and building stone fences,' and ready at running errands for all the old wives in the village—and toiling all day at fishing and shooting—these show a thorough understanding of the apparent contradictions in character, and are set forth in excellent humour. Under his hen-pecked condition he at one time makes a companion of his dog, who was as submissive as his master—at another, betakes himself to the bench before the tavern door, where sit the great men of the village, and Nicholas Vedder, the landlord, 'who kept his seat there from morning till night, just moving sufficiently to avoid the sun, and keep the shade of a large tree.' The mountain scenery is given with great beauty, and the ghostly party at ninepins is at the same time laughable and picturesque. The author's mind is highly fanciful and exactly suited to such scenes. Rip's amaze upon his return home after his long trance—the sight of his son Rip, now full grown and the very counterpart of himself in dress and person,—which confounds him utterly, and makes him doubt his identity—could not have been more happily imagined. The incidents throughout the story are ingeniously contrived, and the whole is painted with a free, spirited touch.

Though this article is drawn to a greater length than was intended,—which is apt to be the case when one is hurried,—we cannot pass over the paper upon English Writers on America, without expressing our hearty approbation of it. It is written in a just, liberal, manly spirit, worthy its author. It would be well for England, would she listen to the warnings he has given her. For our own countrymen we cannot do better than quote his own words.

'But however short-sighted and injudicious may be the conduct of England in this system of aspersion, recrimination on our part would be equally ill-judged. I speak not of a prompt and spirited vindication of our country, or the keenest castigation of her slanderers—but I allude to a disposition to retaliate in kind, to retort scarcasm and inspire prejudice, which seems to be spreading widely among our writers. Let us guard particularly against such a temper, for it would double the injury, instead of redress-

ing it. Nothing is so easy and inviting as the retort of abuse and sarcasm; but it is a paltry and unprofitable contest. It is the alternative of a morbid mind, fretted into petulance, rather than warmed into indignation.'

'Our retorts are never republished in England; and fall short, therefore, of their aim; but they foster a querulous and peevish temper among our writers; they sour the sweet flow of our early literature, and sow thorns and brambles among its blossoms; but what is still worse, they circulate over our own country, and, as far as they have effect, produce virulent national prejudices.'

We come from reading Rural Life in England, as much restored and as cheerful, as if we had been passing an hour or two in the very fields and woods themselves. Mr Irving's scenery is so perfectly true—so full of little beautiful particulars, so varied, yet so connected in character, that the distant is brought nigh to us, and the whole is seen and felt like a delightful reality. It is all gentleness and sunshine; the bright and holy influences of nature fall on us, and our disturbed and lowering spirit is made clear and tranquil—turned all to beauty, like clouds shone on by the moon. Though we see in it nothing of the troubles and vices of life, we believe Mr. Irving found all he has described. If there be any thing which can give purity and true dignity to the character of man, it is country employments and scenery acting upon a cultivated mind. 'In rural occupations,' says Mr. Irving (and it needs little qualifying) 'there is nothing mean and debasing. It leads a man forth among scenes of natural grandeur and beauty; it leaves him to the workings of his own mind, operated upon by the purest and most elevating of external influences. Such a man may be simple and rough, but he cannot be vulgar.'

We have partial and petulant accounts of England and Englishmen, from travelled gentlemen, who have bought and sold at Manchester and Birmingham, and ended with noisy politics in London coffee-houses. They have seen, what is to be seen in all great cities, the ostentatious profligacy of high life, and the abandoned sensuality of the low. It is only from persons, like our author, men of refined, unprejudiced and enlarged minds, that we learn how to value the great middle class in England. We need not say, that in feeling a respect and kindness towards them as they have been described by such men, neither our private virtue nor political integrity, is endangered.

Upon looking back, it is with some pain that we find how much we have dwelt upon Mr Irving's defects. If, however, a man may trust that the feelings which lead him to his remarks, will naturally appear in his manner, we have no fear that Mr. Irving will think we took any pleasure in pointing out his faults. Had we thought less highly of his powers, we should have said less about his errors. Did we not take delight in reading him, we should have been less earnest about his mistakes. The truth is, that in this part of our notice of him, we have been more anxious for the literary character of our country, than for his fame, or our own pleasure. He is a man of genius, and able to bear his faults. But then, again, he is the most popular writer in this country, and for aught we can see, is likely to be, for years. At least, he will always be a standard author amongst us. Our literary character is said to be forming. But if we have discovered some talent and industry, we have, likewise, shown an abundance of bad taste. We cannot have a right character, till this is corrected; and the sanction of Mr. Irving to some of our errors, would give them a growth which would take years of our dull toiling to root out.

Here we must at last close, looking for another Sketch Book, with as pleasant articles, as Rural Life in England, and other tales in the manner of Rip Van Winkle, a little longer, and no less circumstantial.

ART. XVIII.—*A History of the United States before the Revolution, with some account of the Aborigines. By Ezekiel Sanford.* 8vo. pp. 532. Philadelphia, 1819.

THE history of the American States, antecedent to the revolution, is not a subject on which an author can enter with very sanguine hopes of success. The incidents to be recorded are sufficiently interesting and important, especially to an American reader, but there is not enough of unity in the subject to admit of its being wrought advantageously into a single history. It will be at best but a combination of distinct histories, which subsequent events only show the propriety of uniting in a single narrative.

The author before us has undertaken to furnish, in a sin-

gle volume, a history of the United States from their origin to the date of the revolution, together with an account of the native inhabitants of the country. The subject presents a vast field of inquiry, and besides the difficulty which we have mentioned, of want of unity, which no labour or skill could remove, is attended with the further difficulty which nothing but great care and perseverance can overcome, of requiring a thorough knowledge of a vast variety of facts, which are to be collected from a thousand different sources, and collated from a confused mass of uncertain, and sometimes contradictory testimony. It is not a volume of facts only which the author is bound to know. He must be acquainted with the whole history, in all its details, or he cannot write a faithful and satisfactory summary of it. Otherwise he will state some facts erroneously, he will suppress others not with discretion, but from ignorance, and will give a false character to his whole narration. What is unknown to him will be passed over as if it never had happened, what he does not understand will be treated as of little importance, and when the real causes of events or motives of actions are beyond the reach of his investigation, the place of them will be supplied with those which are imaginary. We fear that our author reflected too little upon this truth, and that when he undertook to give a summary of American history, *sequi fastigia rerum*,* as he expresses it, he was not sufficiently aware of the necessity of possessing himself of particulars, before he was qualified to make general statements,—of exploring the recesses, before he could safely pass over the summits.

The author cautions us that he 'must not be supposed to hope, that he has superseded the necessity of all other American histories.' We should have been, without his admonition, far from believing him so vain of his labours. We cannot believe him incapable of estimating the imperfections of his work, or doubt his ability to remove many of them, had he duly weighed the responsibility he assumed in publishing such a book. We fear that in his haste to complete his volume be forgot what he owed to his own reputation, as well as to the public. The task of writing the history of a great empire is not the labour of a few months, and he who thinks

* The barbarous latin *sequari fastigia rerum*, used in the *advertisement* perfixed to the work, we put to the account of the printer, though we do not find it noticed among the typographical errors.

to accomplish it without great care and patient industry, deals falsely with his readers by treating as a sport and pastime, that which he ought to regard as a solemn and responsible office.

The first portion of the work is devoted to an account of the Aborigines, and is divided into three sections under the heads of Fabulous History—Uncertain History—and More Certain History. Under the first head, the author considers the question of the origin and the people of America. This inquiry might, perhaps, with more propriety, he denominated conjectural than fabulous history. After considering several hypotheses, not deserving of much attention in a work of this sort, he comes to the more rational one, of the emigration from the North East coast of Asia to the North West coast of America.

'By far the most numerous class of writers,' says he, 'are of opinion that America was peopled by wanderers from Asia, across Bhering's Strait. The shortest distance between the two continents at this place, is only forty miles; the strait is entirely frozen over in winter; and as there are known to be inhabitants upon the two opposite shores, it seems easy to conclude, that they once belonged to the same people. The objection that the Tchutchi, on the Asiastic, and the Esquimaux on the American side, are very different from the other tribes of the respective continents, is by no means conclusive; for it still remains to be determined, whether peculiarities of climate, and different modes of life, are not sufficient to account for all these diversities of feature, form, and habit. Perhaps, indeed, the only insurmountable objection to this hypothesis, is, that, to account for the emigration of men, will unveil but half of the mystery:—our animals too must have come from Noah's ark; and the misfortune of the theory is that it supposes beasts and birds, which cannot exist beyond the tropical parallels, to have crossed over at a place, where spirits of wine are almost congealed.' pp. xix. xx.

We do not perceive any necessity for supposing that the first men and animals sought this continent in the same caravan, or that they approached it by the same route. The question of the origin of the people of America is therefore distinct from that of the derivation of its animals, and it ought not to be clogged with difficulties which do not belong to it.

It is not necessary to the support of this hypothesis to sup-

pose that the emigrants from the old continent sought a passage precisely at Bhering's Straits. A passage might be easily effected in boats not superior to those which were common among the natives of most parts of America, by way of the Kurile and Aleutian Islands, twelve or fifteen degrees south of Bhering's Straits, between 50 and 55 degrees of north latitude, and consequently in a climate of no remarkable severity. The present inhabitants of those islands make much longer voyages than the greatest distance between the islands, in boats of a very small size, made of leather. The objection that the Tchutchi or Tschuktschians, and the Esquimaux 'are very different from the other tribes of the respective continents,' is altogether imaginary. We know of no satisfactory authority for believing that the Esquimaux have extended themselves across the continent, and border on Bhering's Straits. It is well established that they have an eastern origin. Mackenzie says, that the progress of the 'Esquimaux, who possess the sea coast from the Atlantic through Hudson's Straits and the Bay, round to Mackenzie's river (and I believe further) is known to be westward; they never quit the coast, and agree in appearance, manners, language, and habits with the inhabitants of Greenland.' If it be true, that some few of them have seated themselves on the borders of Bhering's Straits, we do not perceive how the fact militates with the supposition, that at former periods, the people of Asia have emigrated through these same regions to the more inviting parts of the American continent.

As to the Tschuktschians, if it be true that they are a distinct people from any of the neighbouring tribes of either continent, their location near the straits can have very little bearing on the question in consideration. They are not looked to as the parent stock of the emigrants, nor is it likely that the small numbers of these people, situated on the borders of the icy sea, supposing them to have always existed there, should have opposed any obstacle to the march of a more enterprising people who might be on their course to this continent. But it is not probable that there is any nation of an entirely distinct character, residing in these parts. If there are remarkable distinctive traits in tribes in this quarter bordering on each other, it would seem to countenance the idea, that they are but the fragments of successive nations, who in the tide of emigration may have been driven to

that region. Yet the fact seems to be, that the people bordering upon each other, on the shores of both continents, as well as upon the islands between them, have sufficient features of resemblance to prove that there has been, for a course of ages, a constant communication and intercourse preserved between them. In support of this opinion we quote the following description of these people from Storch's view of Russia, a work of the highest authority.

'The nations which we include under the common title of the People of Eastern Siberia, are the Jukagirs, Kamtschadales, Korjaks, Tschuktschians, and the inhabitants of the North Eastern Archipelago of Siberian America, the Kurilians and the Aleutians. It is true there is some similarity among these people; the Jukagirs have a resemblance to the Jakutians, the Tschuktschians to the North Islanders, the Kamtschadales to the Kurilians; and the Korjaks form a link between the Tschuktschians and the Kamtschadales. But among all these people the diversity is much greater than the resemblance, and without the aid of historical records, which here fail entirely, scarcely a hope exists of being able to trace them to a common origin. For this reason we have not said any thing respecting their probable relationship, but confined ourselves to the description of their geographical situation, and their general character.'*

'The Korjaks inhabit the most northern part of the gulf of Penshinsk and even Northern Kamtschatka, near and between the Kamtschadales, Tungusians, Lamutians, and Tschuktschians. The circumstance that they do not appear in the history of their southern neighbours, and their great resemblance to many islanders in the Eastern Ocean, and to the nearest Americans on the other side of the strait, renders it probable with respect to them, as also for similar reasons with respect to the Tschuktschians, that they are very ancient inhabitants of this coast, who either came here from the continent of America, or were separated from it by the probable breaking through of the ocean, and the separation of the two parts of the world. The Korjaks in numbers about equal the Kamtschadales.

'The Tschuktschians inhabit the north eastern corner of Siberia near the Icy Sea and the Eastern Ocean, which is

* Gemalde des Russichen Reichs, Bd. I. S. 287.

called the Tschuktschian promontory, and they have so much resemblance to the Korjaks, that one is tempted to consider them as one family. They amount probably to about 4000.

'The Kurilians are the inhabitants of the islands named after them in the Eastern Ocean. They have not all the same name, and differ in language and manner of living. Some come from Japan, others from Kamtschatka. The Aleutians inhabit the chain of islands named after them, which stretch from Kamtschatka towards the northeast to the continent of America. They are, considering the size of the islands, moderately populous, and are now for the most part subjected to tribute.'*

Kodiak, the largest of the Aleutian Islands, lies close upon the American coast. Councellor Langsdorf, who visited several of these islands, and the neighbouring American and Asiatic coasts, confirms the account here given of the similarity of the inhabitants of this part of the two continents. In his particular description of the inhabitants of some of these islands, he mentions several customs which form a striking coincidence with those of the natives of the Atlantic coast of America. Wichman, who quotes several of the late travellers, says, that the 'Kurilians, together with the Korjaks, Tschuktschians and the islanders further east, appear to form a gradual transition from the Mongul to to the American character.' †

But we do not intend here to go into a defence of any of the modes of tracing the origin of the American Indians. Our attention is more forcibly drawn to other parts of this work. The author, after some notice of the several hypotheses which have been advanced by different writers, expresses an inclination of his mind in favour of that, 'which supposes the deluge to have been complete only in the old world,' and declares his disbelief, 'that any scheme can be found to derive the Aborigines of the Americas from Asia, Europe or Africa, which, in the present state of knowledge, may not be perplexed with numerous and irremovable objections.' He proceeds to attack the general course of reasoning by which the inquiries, which have been made on the subject, have been conducted.

* Gemalde des Russichen Reichs, Bd. I. S. 292—294.
† Darstellung der Russ. Mon. S. 220.

'Three topics of argument,' says he, 'are generally resorted to, in the discussion of this subject,—similarities of language, traditions, manners and monuments,*—which we have reserved for a separate consideration, because they are not exclusively applicable to any particular theory. It is their greatest objection indeed, that they have been applied with equal success to all. We cannot take the pains to enumerate the different hypotheses, which three centuries have produced, to develop and elucidate this mystery; but in all the various idioms of language and modes of life, which distinguish the aboriginal tribes of America, we have never known an author fail of finding a sufficient number of etomologies, customs and ceremonies to support the particular idea, which he has started or espoused. Though there may be ten dissimilarities for one resemblance, and though that one resemblance be imperfect and obscure, the novelty of a beautiful hypothesis eclipses all other considerations; and tribes, which can hardly be said to have a single thing in common, are pronounced to be branches of the same people.' pp. xxv, xxvi.

What is there, we would ask, by which, in the absence of all written history, the origin or relationship of a people should be traced, but by their monuments, if they have any, their traditions, manners, or language? Yet it is gravely argued, that because these kinds of evidence have been resorted to by the supporters of contradictory opinions, the evidence itself is of no value. Is there no room for the supposition that the evidence has been in some cases, and perhaps even in all, misapplied, through a defect of information in those who have resorted to it? This being the only kind of evidence which the nature of the case admits of, is it remarkable that each founder or defender of an hypothesis should find 'a sufficient number of etymologies, customs and ceremonies to support' his own theory? The author proceeds:

'Solinus mentions a nation of Asiatics called the Apalæi; and in Herodotus, we read of the Massagetæ in the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea. The former are found in the Apalachi of Florida; the latter in the Mazaticæ of New Spain, and the Massachusitæ of New England. Ptolemy speaks of the Tabieni; and the Tambi were an ancient nation of Peru. The Cunadani inhabited the north of Asia; and there was a city in Upper Hungary, called Chunad. No person, therefore, could mistake the derivation of Canada. The Chonsuli about Nicaragua are identified with

* Here seem to be four, instead of three topics ennumerated.

the Hunni or Chuni; and the Parii of Scythia are supposed to have named the South American region of Paria. The Hurons are a branch of the Huyrones, who live in the neighbourhood of the Moguls. The Olopali of Florida, the Nepi of Trinidad, and the Iroquois of the north, are the same with the Parii, the Nepi, and Irycæ of Herodotus. The Moguls are the progenitors of the Tomogali and Mogoles about the river La Plata; and how nearly do the Choten, Baita, and Tangur, of Great Tartary, resemble the Coton of Chili, and the Paita and Tangora of Peru? The Japanese are found under both their appellations. The Chiapanecæ about Nicaragua retain their common name; and the Zipangri of Hispaniola, the one which was given them by the Tartars. The word Sacks is one synonime of the Celts; and there is a tribe of Indians who have the same name to a letter. The Abydos of the Greeks has since been called Nagara; and our Niagara corresponds with it, both in name and situation.

'The Peruvians think they descended from one Mancu; and there are Manchew Tartars. The natives of Virginia and Guatimala are said to have a tradition concerning Madoc; and his name has been detected as a part of the Guatimalan Matoc-Zunga and Mat-Inga. The double L of the Spanish is said to have been derived from the Mexicans, who took it from the Welsh; and when the Dutch first carried to Europe a bird, which they found at the Straits of Magellan, and which the natives called Penguin, the Welsh discovered, that, with the aptest correspondence to its description, the same word in their own language signified White-head.' pp. xxvi—xxviii.

It is with such displays of his wit and fancy, that the author, forgetful of the true offices of history, regales his readers. It must be unnecessary to remark, that this has no reference to facts actually relied upon by the authors whom he is attempting to refute, but is the work of his own ingenuity, intended to ridicule the labour of those who by an investigation of the languages of this continent, yet very little understood, are endeavouring to recover something of its lost history. Our sense of the value of these inquiries we have already expressed in a former number. These languages when better understood, we have little doubt, will render very efficient aid in determining the question of the origin of the American people, and together with the other modes of evidence, which the author endeavours to persuade us are worthless, will lead to the establishment of a theory on this subject which shall be entirely satisfactory. Much

has been already done by these very means. We deem it, for example, sufficiently well established, that the Esquimaux, who people a very extensive tract of this continent, derive their origin from the north of Europe, and that they are an entirely distinct race of people from the other Indians who border upon them. It is precisely by the modes of proof which the author takes so much pains to undervalue, that these facts are established, and we know not what further is necessary to lead to similar results with respect to the other nations of the continent, than an equally intimate acquaintance with their language, traditions, manners and customs, and a competent acquaintance with the history, language and character of the different nations of the old world.

The author thinks it idle to argue on this subject from a similarity of customs, and contends that the coincidences that are to be observed in the usages of the inhabitants of the two continents, are to be regarded as a natural consequence of a similarity of character and constitution, inherited by the whole human race.

'Were two nations,' says he, 'created at the same time, and placed on opposite sides of the globe, we should naturally expect, from the similarity of their constituent principles, that their advances to civilization would be parallel, at least, if the lines did not occasionally run into each other.' p. lvi.

And again,

'There are even many things common to us and the lower animals. We have never known either man or beast to adopt but one course. When struck with violent fear,—they uniformly run. Anger is generally accompanied by a disposition to revenge; and always vents itself upon the object which occasions it, or upon the first thing which it encounters. The miss chastises her perverse doll, and the grown person dashes his obstinate boot across the room. Grief too, when excessive, is generally attended with a species of resentment; and if the Mexicans, like the Jews, are found to rend their garments in violent lamentation, it does not prove that the Mexicans are descended from the Jews,—but that both Jews and Mexicans are descended from Adam.' p. lvii.

This reasoning is quite inconclusive. It is not from *similarity*, merely, of character and conduct in two people, that the argument in support of their common origin is drawn; but from their possessing in common certain peculiarities, or

characteristic traits, by which they are distinguished from every other people, and which consequently cannot result from the common constitution of human nature. There may undoubtedly be coincidences in the distinguishing traits of different people, which are rather to be attributed to accident, than regarded as proofs of relationship; yet it is too obvious to need demonstration, that there are others of so marked and striking a character, as to deserve great consideration in the investigation of this subject.

The second section of this work, styled Doubtful History, is devoted to the consideration of the question, whether the territory of the United States, since its first discovery by the Europeans, has been inhabited by two distinct races of Indians. The affirmative of this question is supported at considerable length, though the author does not declare himself decidedly in favour of this opinion. The testimony principally relied upon is drawn from the description of the natives of this country, by Verazzano, and the narrative of De Soto's expedition. The hypothesis, we think, is entirely unsupported. The whole history of this continent, both written and traditionary, contradicts it. The accounts of the condition of the Indian nations, by those adventurers, are easily reconciled with their actual condition at the date of the more deliberate and accurate observations of subsequent travellers, if we make some slight allowance for the glowing fancy with which the early adventurers described, and still more perhaps, for the actual deterioration of the character and condition of the natives in consequence of their connexion with the Europeans. The narrative of De Soto's expedition, abridged from Hackluyt's Voyages, which constitutes the greater part of this section, as it is not very generally known, forms one of the most interesting portions of the volume.

The third section consists of a general view of the history of the Indians, from the date of the first European settlements in this country to the present time.

We come next to the second and principal portion of the work, viz. the history of the states of the Union from their first settlement to the revolution. Here the author could complain of no deficiency of written and authentic documents. No country is furnished with more abundant and perfect materials for history than ours. Almost every

event, of any importance, may be found recorded by contemporary writers, and although contradictory statements may be frequently detected, the evidence is so ample, that in almost all cases the truth may be satisfactorily ascertained.

In a brief summary of history, like that before us, the merits of the author must be found principally in the accuracy and precision with which he states facts, a judicious selection of the facts and events to be recorded, and a clear and judicious arrangement. The point of greatest importance, undoubtedly, is accuracy—perfect accuracy, wherever it is attainable, not only in the statement of facts, which are obviously important, but in all the minute details and accidental circumstances. Accuracy in dates, in particular, is of the greatest importance, as the whole fabric of history depends upon it. It is the chain by which the mutual dependence and connexion of facts are in a measure preserved, where systematical arrangement and method are entirely disregarded. No man can have a correct view of history or read it with satisfaction and profit, without a careful attention to dates. It should therefore be to the writer of history one of the first objects of attention.

In a point so important as that of accuracy in the detail of facts, and in dates, we have been sorry to observe so great a deficiency in the work before us. Every part of the volume betrays gross carelessness in this respect. We do not allude to mistakes which can claim the apology of an error in judgment in the choice of authorities, but to mistatements in matter of fact, upon which, on a careful examination, there is no room for doubt. We do not intend to pursue the work throughout for faults of this description, but will proceed to quote a few passages, in which we will endeavour to point out a sufficient number of errors to support the charge which we have made.

'In 1495, three years after the discovery of Columbus, he [King Henry VII.] entered into a sort of fellowship with John Cabot and his three sons; commissioning them to seize in his name, all the lands they could discover in the east, the north or the west; but stipulating that the voyage should be undertaken at their own expense, and that, of the trade which they might drive with the inhabitants, they should return their royal partner his due fifth of the clear gains. This scheme was never carried into execution; but *three years afterwards*, in May 1498, the elder Cabot,

and his second son, Sebastian, set sail from Bristol, with one ship and four barks; intending, if practicable, to reach the East Indies, through the short passage pointed out by Columbus. They held nearly a due west course, till they discovered the new continent; and after following the coast from the fifty-sixth to the thirty-eighth degree of north latitude, they steered homeward again, to carry the unwelcome intelligence that India was not to be attained in the west. *It does not appear that they ever landed;* and it is only upon this cursory traverse of the coast, that the English primarily found their claim to the whole continent of North America.' p. 2.

There is some contradiction in the different accounts of the discoveries made by the Cabots. But there seems to be no reason to doubt the following facts. The commission and grant made by Henry VII. to John Cabot and his sons, was dated March 5, 1496. In this commission we discover nothing in the nature of a copartnership, except that it was a condition of the grant that one fifth of the clear profits on the goods imported from the newly discovered countries, was to be paid to the king in lieu of all other customs and duties. In May, 1497, a little more than one year after the date of the commission, Cabot sailed from Bristol, and June 24, he discovered land, at a place which he called Prima Vista, the location of which is not at present certainly known. Here he landed, and discovered among other things that the inhabitants were clothed with skins, that the country abounded in bears and stags, and in fish, particularly cod. He thence sailed northward to 60°,—Hakluyt and Purchas say 67° north latitude,—but returned to the place where he first landed, and having refreshed his crew there, proceeded along the coast southward to latitude 38° or 36°. On returning to England, he carried home three savages, as a present to the king. We do not find any evidence that England founded upon this discovery any claim to the whole continent of North America. On the contrary, all the early grants of lands in North America by the king of England, contained the proviso, that the lands described were not possessed by any other Christian prince or people.

'The first ship fitted out by the Plymouth company, in 1606, was captured by the Spaniards. In the following year, however, Raleigh Gilbert set sail, with two other ships, and about one hundred persons; landed safely in America; and proceeded to build

Fort St. George, near the Sagahadoc [Sagadahoc.] The severity of the winter *carried off many of their number*—among the rest, *Gilbert, their admiral*, and George Popham, their president ; and in the spring, when they learned by a vessel which brought them supplies, that their patron, Sir John Popham, was dead, they determined at once to abandon the country.' pp. 31, 32.

The seat of this colony, under the command of Capt. George Popham, was at Parker's Island, in Georgetown, at the mouth of the Kennebeck river, in the country then called Sagadahoc. Popham was the only person who died during the winter, and until the settlement was abandoned. Gilbert succeeded Popham in the command of the party. They did not determine to abandon the colony on hearing of the death of Sir John Popham, nor until the intelligence afterwards received of Sir John Gilbert's death, rendered it necessary for Raleigh Gilbert, his brother, to return to England to take possession of the estate, to which he succeeded, on that event.

'The first effectual settlement of New England was almost entirely accidental. The *obscure sect of the Brownists* had been driven from England to Holland, where, *for the want of persecution, they found themselves in danger of becoming utterly extinct ;* and as the only means therefore of continuing their existence as a body, they resolved upon emigrating to America.' p. 32.

This is one of the instances in which the author adopts a contemptuous tone, not warranted by historical justice, in speaking of the first settlers of New England. The term Brownist is one by which the people who emigrated to Leyden and afterwards founded the Plymouth colony, were stigmatized by their contemporaries; but it was an appellation which they disavowed, and which Dr. Prince, in his invaluable New England Chronology, has satisfactorily shown did not belong to them. The Brownists were the most rigid sect of the Puritans, and vehemently insisted on a total separation from the church of England. Robinson, on the contrary, the father of the Leyden church, published a book, in which he allowed and defended the lawfulness of communicating with the church of England 'in the word and prayer,' and allowed the pious members of the church of England, and of all the reformed churches, to communicate with his church. This liberality was so offensive to the Brownists,

that they would hardly hold communion with the church of Leyden. The members of this church were more properly called Independents or Congregationalists. They acknowledged all the doctrinal articles of the church of England, and differed from it only in matters of an ecclesiastical nature. In respect to these, they maintained the principles which are at the foundation of the congregational churches of this country to this day. Robinson, in his farewell address to that part of his flock which embarked for this continent, after a discourse which breathes a noble spirit of christian charity, not only remarkable at that day, but which has been often quoted with admiration in the present age, adds, 'I must also advise you to abandon, avoid, and shake off the name of BROWNIST. It is a mere nickname; and a brand for the making religion, and the professors of it, odious to the Christian world.' The followers of Brown, who emigrated to Amsterdam, never came to this country. There is no truth therefore in tracing the orgin of the New England settlements to 'the obscure sect of the Brownists.'

The reason assigned for the resolution of the founders of the Plymouth colony, to quit Holland for America, is equally false. The whole history of this transaction does not afford the least colour for the insinuation, which is conveyed in this pretended reason for their second emigration. The true reasons are very distinctly given in the writings which are extant of the emigrants themselves, and it would have been showing but a decent respect for historical truth and accuracy, had the author made some inquiry into these reasons, which appear to be entirely satisfactory, instead of assigning those which are purely imaginary. A part of the reasons mentioned by Governor Bradford and others are, that the climate of Holland proved unfavourable to their health,—that they were not pleased with the language, manners and habits of the Dutch, particularly their loose manner of regarding the Sabbath—and that most of them having been bred to the business of husbandry in England, which they were unable to pursue in Holland, they were obliged to resort to modes of obtaining a subsistence to which they were not accustomed, and that in consequence they found themselves sinking into poverty, and some of their youth under the necessity of becoming sailors and soldiers.

'In September, 1620, *one hundred and twenty* set sail from England in a single ship. They intended to have settled on Hudson's River; but their Dutch pilot had been bribed by his countrymen to carry them somewhere else; and the first land they came in sight of, was what Gosnald had called Cape Cod. The coast was explored for a convenient place of settlement; and the colony landed at New Plymouth, *on the 11th of November.*' p. 33.

The precise number who sailed from England in this ship was one hundred and one; and the first landing at Plymouth was made on the 11th of December, the anniversary of which event is celebrated to this day on the 22d of December, New Style. This was the landing of an exploring party. The ship arrived in the harbour on the 16th, and the whole party did not land until some days after. They attended divine service on shore for the first time December 31, and named the place *Plymouth.* It was never called New Plymouth.

The statement that 'their Dutch pilot had been bribed by his countrymen,' is at least incorrect, if it is not entirely without foundation. The Mayflower, in which the voyage was made, was a London vessel, and Jones, the master, as well as Robert Coppin the pilot, appear to have been Englishmen. We find no authority whatever, for supposing that the pilot was bribed, and the story, which rests on the authority of Morton's Memorial, that the master of the vessel was bribed by some agents of the Dutch West India Company, is rendered improbable by a variety of circumstances.

'The season, in which they landed, was by no means favourable to their health; *such a sect very naturally fell into the improvident scheme of labouring in common;* and, before the return of spring, about fifty of their number were swept off by sickness and fatigue. The remainder were called away from their work, by *the necessity of fighting the savages;* and, had it not been for *a pestilence which swept off great numbers of their men warriors;* the history of this settlement would have ended here. But the Indians were soon reduced to equitable terms.' p. 33.

What is said here of the Plymouth colonists labouring in common, is not strictly true. It was the course adopted by the Virginia settlers and others, but it was in part avoided by those of Plymouth. In Hazard's Collections we find, from the Plymouth Colony records, part of the plan of the "Meerstead's and Garden-plotes of those which came first,'

as recorded in 1620. In a journal of the plantation, 'first printed in 1622, and abbreviated in Purchas' Pilgrims,' we find the following record: 'Tuesday, the ninth of January, [1621] was a reasonable fair day; and we went to labour that day in building of our town, in two rows of houses for more safety. We divided by lot the plot of ground, whereon to build our town, after the proportion formerly allotted. We agreed that every man should build his own house, thinking by that course men would make more haste than working in common. The common house, in which for the first we made our rendezvous, being nearly finished, wanted only covering.'* Much of the labour for supporting the infant colony was of necessity done in common. It would have been impracticable at first for each family to build their house, clear their field, and gain a subsistence. The fields were consequently for the two first years planted in common, but in April, 1623, it was 'thought best, that every man should use the best diligence he could for his own preservation, both in respect to the time present, and to prepare his own corn for the year following; and bring in a competent portion for the maintenance of public officers, fishermen, &c. which could not be freed from their calling without greater inconveniency.'† This division of lands for cultivation is also to be found in Hazard's Collections. No division was made at this time 'for inheritance,' but the scheme, says Governor Bradford, 'has very good success, makes all industrious, gives con-'tent.'

There are several other errors in this paragraph. The Indians never made war upon the Plymouth settlers, and, consequently, among the hardships which these pilgrims encountered in laying the foundation of their colony, they were not subjected to 'the necessity of fighting the savages.' There was no pestilence among the Indians after the landing of the Plymouth people. The country was nearly depopulated seven or eight years before their arrival. The Indians were not compelled to enter into any terms with the colonists, but before any hostilities they made a voluntary treaty of amity with them, which was faithfully observed. A very friendly intercourse subsisted between them, from the first interview, for many years.

* Mass. Hist. Coll. VIII. 223. † Winslow's Rel. Hist. Coll. VIII. 274.

'On the 3d of November, 1626, the original Plymouth company obtained from James a new patent.' p. 34.

The New England charter here mentioned, was granted in 1620. This error is probably from the fault of the printer.

'They came over and settled, in small parties, about Massachusetts Bay,—*so called from an Indian Sachem;* in March 1627, the Council of Plymouth granted to Sir Henry Roswell and others, all the lands between lines drawn to the South Sea, from three miles north of the Merrimack, and three miles south of Charles river; and in September of the same year, a number of planters and servants under Endicot, laid the foundation of Salem, the first permanent town in the colony.

'It was soon apparent, that without more opulent partners, the settlement would never come to any thing. Such partners were easily found; but they would only embark in the enterprise, upon the condition that the grant to [of] the council of Plymouth should be confirmed by a royal charter. Such a charter was accordingly issued on the 4th of March, 1628. The name was changed to "The Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England."' p. 35.

The origin of the name of Massachusetts Bay is not here correctly given. There was no sachem of that name. It was the name of an Indian nation which inhabited the country bordering on Boston harbour. There are also several mistakes of dates. The grant of the council of Plymouth to Roswell and others was made in the year 1628. As it is recited in the Massachusetts charter, it purports to have been made March 19, in the third year of the reign of Charles I. This year corresponds with the date we have mentioned. It is also well established, by a great variety of authorities, that the emigration of Endicot and his company did not take place until the year 1628, the same year of the grant to him and his associates. The royal charter is dated the 4th of March, in the 4th year of king Charles' reign, viz. 1629. The certificate annexed to it, however, of the taking of the oath by Matthew Craddock, named governor in the charter, is dated March 18, 1628. This apparent contradiction, and the error of Hutchinson and others, which has been copied by our author in the dates of the council of Plymouth grant, and the royal charter of Massachusetts, are easily accounted for, by a reference to the practice retained longer in England and its

dependencies than in any other country, of commencing the year on the 25th of March, or annunciation day. By this mode of reckoning, the date of events happening between the 1st of January and the 25th of March, was thrown one year back. To remove the ambiguity arising from the diversity in the mode of reckoning, it became a common practice to use a double date for those months which had a doubtful station, both at the beginning and the end of the year. By this method, the Massachusetts charter should be dated March 4, 1628—9. Notwithstanding the inconvenience of this mode of dating, which was at variance with the practice of other nations, it was retained in use in England until the passing of the act for reforming the style in 1751. This act, besides suppressing the eleven days, to bring back the vernal equinox to the 21st of March, required that the year should begin on the 1st of January.

The grant from the council of Plymouth, to Roswell and others, gave them a sufficient title to the lands which afterwards formed the colony of Massachusetts. But the royal charter not only confirmed the grant, but established the grantees and their associates, as a body corporate and politic, with certain privileges and immunities by the name of 'the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England.'

'The legislative power was to be exercised by the whole body of proprietors; the executive, by a governor, and deputy governor, and eighteen assistants; but notwithstanding all the experience of Virginia with her councils in London, the supreme control was vested in a body of men three thousand miles distant from the scene of government.' p. 35.

The supreme control was vested, as is usual in corporations, in the body of corporators. These were at the date of the charter nearly all in England. But the government was not fixed there by the charter, nor did it continue there longer than the necessity of the case required. On sending out a party of settlers in April, a few weeks after receiving their charter, they ordered that thirteen persons in the plantation should 'have the sole ordering of the affairs and government there,' with full power to make any laws not repugnant to the laws of England; and in August following, several of the proprietors having already removed, and others being

about to remove to the infant colony, it was voted by the company, 'That the patent and government of the plantation be transferred to New England.' This transfer took place early in the following year, when the principal emigration of the proprietors took place,—the last general court in England being holden February 10, 1630, and the last court of assistants there, on board the ship Arabella, March 23, of the same year. After this date no act of government or control was exercised by the proprietors in England. The persons who came over in 1628 and 1629 were principally the servants and agents of the proprietors who came over in the year following.

'*In June* of the same year, two hundred emigrants *in five vessels*, disembarked at Salem. The colony now amounted to *three hundred persons ;* one third of whom removed to Charlestown. As Brownism was the great end of the undertaking, the settlers proceeded to frame a system of polity conformable to its doctrines,—and to refuse all others that toleration, for which they had themselves been the zealous advocates. The 'rising glories of the faithful' were somewhat obscured by *the loss of half their number,* in the following winter ; but the survivors were not disheartened.' p. 36.

The number of emigrants this year is stated by Prince, for which he quotes the Massachusetts colony records, as follows, viz. sixty women and maids, twenty six children, and three hundred men. Governour Dudley, in his letter to the Countess of Lincoln, says, 'the next year, 1629, we sent divers ships over with about 300 people.' To these numbers are to be added those who accompanied Endicot the year before. They sailed in six vessels, three of which arrived in June ; the other three sailed from England some time in June. The colony probably exceeded 400 persons, and the number of deaths the following winter was about eighty—Dudley says 'above eighty.'

The same contemptuous tone towards the founders of the new Commonwealth, on which we have before remarked, is again observable in the passage which we have quoted, and occurs frequently in other parts of this volume. It is unnecessary for us here to go into a vindication of the character of our early ancestors. It is sufficient to remark, that they never professed themselves the advocates of toleration. Tol-

eration was not a virtue of the age in which they lived; and they ought not to be reproached with the want of it, since they cannot be charged with the opposite error, beyond every other Christian sect of that day. Their grand object was to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience, and for this object they sought an asylum in the wilderness of this continent, where they should be removed from the sight of antichristian errors of every description. Nothing was farther from their thoughts, than to build up a republic, in which sectarians and fanatics of every denomination under heaven might mingle their multifarious rites, and confound their modes of Christian worship with their own.

It would be useless in us to pursue this course of examination further. We have proceeded far enough, we trust, to support our charge of gross inaccuracy in the work before us—a charge which we are sensible is a very grave one, and ought not to be made but upon careful examination, and deliberate conviction of its truth. The paragraphs which we have here noticed are extracted from a very narrow space, and we might have brought together many more, from other parts of the volume, in confirmation of the judgment which we have given. But the task is as unpleasant as it would be profitless, and we are glad to cut it short.

We have but one further fault to notice in this work, and that is included in the general one which we have mentioned of want of accuracy, viz. a frequent false colouring of the character and motives of the actors in our early history. It furnishes not merely an imperfect, but often a deceptive account of their conduct, ascribes to them mean and frivolous motives, when good and sufficient ones might have been assigned, passes unnoticed their exertions and sacrifices, and exaggerates and caricatures their vices and foibles. It furnishes no means of estimating fairly the character of the people to whom it relates; and instead of presenting such a narrative as can be read with continued pleasure, from the frequent pictures of moral worth and excellence, which every age of our history actually affords, and which ought to meet us upon every page, it disgusts us with the perpetual recital of exertions without an honourable motive, sufferings without necessity, and controversies without an object. It presents us, in fine, no traces of that discipline which has made us what we are, and discloses none of the germs of the charac-

ter which we at this day sustain. It is not a work from which our true history is to be learned.

ART. XIX.—*Novanglus and Massachusettensis; or Political Essays, published in the years* 1774 *and* 1775, *on the principal points of controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies. The former by John Adams, late President of the United States; the latter by Jonathan Sewall, then King's Attorney General of the province of Massachusetts Bay. To which are added a number of letters, lately written by President Adams to the Hon. William Tudor.* 8vo. pp. 312. Boston, Hews & Goss, 1819.

MUCH intesrest has been excited of late by the question,—who began the American revolution? By this we understand that change in the political relations of Great Britain and her Colonies, which arose from the controversy between them with regard to the authority of Parliament, and terminated in the declaration of Independence,—for that was the completion of this change of government, the end of the revolution, and not, as some appear to think, its beginning. The zeal displayed in discussing the respective pretensions of those who are said to be its authors, might almost induce us to imagine that it had sprung forth at once in full maturity from the fertile brain of some individual, before whom we must fall down and worship. Not so;—it was the offspring of the nation, and grew up slowly; proceeding by cautious and reluctant advances, but acquiring strength and confidence at every step, from jealousy to discontent, murmurs, complaint, petition, remonstrance, menace, opposition and independence. Which of all these was the beginning of the revolution, and when and how they succeeded each other, are questions to which it is not easy to give an answer generally satisfactory. It is true, indeed, that changes in the sentiments of a whole people cannot be secret, nor ordinarily accomplished by secret means; but they are often brought about by gradations too imperceptible to be fixed and measured, however astonishing their result. We are frequently unable to determine the progressive variations in our own sentiments and opinions; still more so to trace those, which take place among our daily

associates. Who then can designate the precise point, which the accumulating and impetuous flood of popular excitement had attained, at any particular moment of its progress?

It is true, also, that individuals can have personal intercourse with but few of their contemporaries, and must therefore in a great measure found their opinions, with regard to the sentiments of a numerous and scattered people, even when they live among them, on what is publicly done and written, and that what was done in the American revolution is still known, and a great part of what was written still extant; so that the difficulty of marking its successive advances arises from the nature of the subject, rather than from any want of the usual means of information. But the very abundance of these means occasions a neglect of them. Few are willing, when the zeal of the contest and all solicitude for its event are gone by, to read the repetition, in a thousand forms, of arguments for and against positions now deemed indisputable, and of appeals to passions that are dead, or to interests that are forgotten. And yet this is the only way to become acquainted with the revolution. A chronological catalogue of political measures or a cold analysis of the publications of the day, thought of great use in directing our researches, can give little idea of the nature of the controversy. It is necessary to realize, if not to participate the feelings, of the people, to mingle, as it were, in the contest, to trace its path, though we cannot exactly measure its progress, and to become familiar with the tone assumed, as well as with the principles asserted in every successive period of the struggle. After all, it will be difficult to ascertain the comparative merits of individuals, and the relative influence of different events, or to determine, of particular publications, how far they prompted or only echoed the voice of the people.

These circumstances may in some measure account for an important error of Mr. Wirt in his panegyric on Patrick Henry; an error, however, which can hardly be regretted, since we owe to it the interesting letters subjoined to Novanglus and Massachusettensis, and perhaps the republication at the present time of these essays themselves. We allude to his assertion, that the resolutions of the House of Burgesses in Virginia, on the thirtieth of May 1765, were the commencement of the revolution. The four first of these resolutions declare, that the first settlers of the colony brought with

them and transmitted to their posterity all the rights of British subjects; that these had been confirmed by two charters; that the taxation of the people by themselves or their representatives is the characteristic of British freedom; and that this right had never been surrendered or forfeited by the colony, but had been constantly recognized by the king and people of Great Britain. The fifth is in these words.

'Resolved, therefore, that the general assembly of this colony have the sole right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that every attempt to vest this power in any person or persons whatsoever, other than the General Assembly aforesaid, has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom.' [Life of Patrick Henry, p. 57.]

'The reader will remark,' says Mr. Wirt, 'that the first four resolutions as left by Mr. Henry, do little more than reaffirm the principles advanced in the address, memorial, and remonstrance of the preceding year; that is, they deny the right assumed by the British parliament, and assert the exclusive right of the colony to tax itself. There is an important difference, however, between those state papers and the resolutions, in the point of time and the circumstances under which they were brought forward; for the address and other state papers were prepared before the stamp act had passed; they do nothing more, therefore, than call in question, by a course of respectful and submissive reasoning, the propriety of exercising the right, before it had been exercised; and they are, moreover, addressed to the legislature of Great Britain, by *the way of prevention*, and in a strain of decent remonstrance and argument. But at the time when Mr. Henry offered his resolutions, the stamp act had passed, and the resolutions were intended for the people of the colonies. It will also be observed that the fifth resolution, as given by Mr. Henry, contains the bold assertion, that every attempt to vest the power of taxtation over the colonies, in any person or persons whatsoever, other than the General Assembly, had a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom; which was asserting in effect, that the act, which had passed was an encroachment on the rights and liberties of the people, and amounted to a direct charge of tyranny and despotism against the British king, lords and commons.' [Life of Patrick Henry, pp. 59, 60.]

'The revolution may be truly said to have commenced with his (Mr. Henry's) resolutions in 1765. From that period, not an hour of settled peace had existed between the two countries. It is true, that the eruption produced by the stamp act, had subsided with its repeal, and the people had resumed their ancient

settlements and occupations ; but there was no peace of the heart or of the mind.' p. 85.

These resolutions do not appear to us to recommend or even to threaten resistance ; nor can we assent to the opinion that they were more vigorous or more daring because they were designed for the people, or think that they would have lost any thing of their energy by being addressed directly to parliament. We are sensible, however, to the justice of the distinction between denying the constitutionality of an act under discussion, and that of one already passed.

Yet if the passages above cited are designed to intimate, that no act of parliament by which taxes had been imposed on the colonies was, before this time, openly declared an encroachment on the rights and liberties of the people, they are so far erroneous. The House of Representatives of Massachusetts had made a similar declaration with regard to the revenue act of the preceding year, in language by no means less bold or less explicit than this of Virginia.*

The suggestion, that the stamp act was the first cause of colonial discontent, is not new. At a later period of the revolution, the most distinguished American writers urged it upon their countrymen as a strong motive to unite in opposing the tea act, that the imposition of duties for the purpose

* It is a remarkable fact, that the resolutions published in 1765, as those of Virginia, and which then excited so much attention, were the two first and two last of those actually passed—together with the two following, still bolder.

'Resolved, that his majesty's liege people, the inhabitants of this colony, are not bound to yield obedience to any law or ordinance whatsoever, designed to impose any taxation whatsoever upon them, other than the laws and ordinances of the General Assembly aforesaid.'

'Resolved, that any person, who shall, by speaking or writing, maintain that any person or persons, other than the General Assembly of this colony, have any right or power to impose or lay any taxation on the people here, shall be deemed an enemy to this, his Majesty's colony.'

These six resolutions are said to have been circulated in manuscript in Philadelphia and New York, but on reaching Newport they were inserted in the newspaper there, and copied into the others throughout New England ; and the Assembly of Rhode Island, at its session in August, adopted all of them, except the last ;—a sufficient proof that the inhabitants of this part of the country at least, were ready to hear and to repeat more than Virginia had in fact uttered. It is stated in Prior Documents, and in Marshall's Life of Washington, that the two resolutions cited above, were drawn up by the committee of the House of Burgesses, but not passed. Mr. Wirt, however, shews that none such were even proposed, and thus leaves this singular fact altogether unexplained.

of revenue was not only unjust, but unprecedented, well knowing that arguments deduced from established usage, have great influence over the conduct of individuals, and still more over that of communities. On the other hand, the adherents of the ministry pretended that the Americans had opposed only the stamp duties, which were repealed, and had submitted without complaint to acts of commercial revenue quite as burdensome both in principle and in operation as the tea act, and thus acquiesced in the authority of parliament to pass them. Their object in this misrepresentation was to disparage the purity of the colonial cause, by casting on the people the reproach of inconsistency and innovation. In Mr. Wirt, he mistake undoubtedly arises from a desire of conferring honour on this native state and on Patrick Henry, and from a want of minute attention to the history of the revolution before the time when his hero became an actor in it.

It is not a mere point of honor to correct this mistake; for it is one which might lead to important consequences. He who should study the history of the American revolution only from the period assigned by that writer as its commencement, would form very erroneous ideas of the character of the contest and of the temper of the people. If the inhabitants of New England had in truth considered the stamp act as the first attack on their liberties, we should have less reason to be proud of their conduct. What?—all exasperated in an instant by the first solitary encroachment; popular indignation bursting forth in occasional riots and universal execrations, without having tried the effect of expostulation, remonstrance and argument? Were they,—greedy of change, intoxicated by prosperity and elate with the hope of independence,—watching an opportunity for contention and eager to snatch it? Where then were the patience and moderation, the fidelity to established government and unwillingness to make innovations, of which they and we have been accustomed to boast? It is no wonder that Mr. Adams has been drawn forth to correct an error tending to occasion so gross a misunderstanding of the wrongs, and endurance, and sufferings, and labours, which he witnessed and shared.

He states the year 1760 to be the period, and the operation of the laws of trade the cause, of the first discontents in America. In conformity with the practice, or as Montes-

quieu chooses to call it, the fundamental law of Europe, the English colonies were prohibited from sending any where but to Great Britain those of their productions, from whose monopoly that country could derive a profit; and were allowed to import nothing (with the single exception of salt for the fisheries) from any part of the European continent. Even their domestic manufactures were greatly restricted, particularly those of wool, beaver and iron. It must be acknowledged, however, that many of the colonial regulations were badges of subjection rather than actual restraints, and were impolitic only because they were odious and useless.

Rice, tobacco and naval stores, the principal productions of the southern colonies, were among the enumerated commodities, which could be carried by them only to Great Britain. But this was the best market for the latter, the importation of American tobacco was encouraged there by an act prohibiting the culture of that plant in the European dominions of the crown; and rice might be carried in vessels, whose owners resided in England, to any part of the world. On the exportation of grain, the chief produce of the middle colonies, there was no restraint. It was sent in part to the English West Indies, but mostly to the southern parts of Europe, whence its proceeds were remitted to England. The colonies of New England, where the length and severity of the winters required the greatest consumption of British manufactures in proportion to the population, could make remittances only in a more circuitous and unfavourable manner. They sent, indeed, furs, whale oil and some timber to England, and, as well as the middle colonies, flaxseed to Ireland; but their commerce consisted principally in carrying salt fish and West India sugar to the south of Europe,—whence they could import nothing but salt directly; and fruit, wine, and oil through England,—the residue of their proceeds being remitted to that country to purchase its manufactures—in carrying New England rum to the African coast to buy slaves for the southern colonies and the English islands—and in carrying lumber, salt fish of inferior quality for the slaves, and horses and mules to the West Indies, taking in return rum, sugar, and above all, molasses to be distilled into rum for the African trade and for the purchase in the southern colonies of naval stores for Great Britain. On this last trade, both the others depended; for unless

a market could be found in the West Indies for the fish of inferior quality, the fishery could not be continued, the sale of the best kind in Europe not affording it an adequate support; and if they could obtain molasses at a reasonable price, their distilleries were ruined, and there was an end of the traffic with Africa. A considerable portion of this essential trade was carried on with the French islands, whose produce was cheaper than that of the English, not only because it was not burdened with a duty on exportation, but because the French planters were temperate and economical, and remarkable for their attention to the health and comfort of their slaves.

In 1731 the inhabitants of the English islands, desiring to exclude the French from sharing with them the North American trade, though it could supply the want of both, had petitioned Parliament that intercourse between the northern colonies and the possessions of France in America might be prohibited or greatly restrained; and, in consequence of this application, an act had passed, for "securing and encouraging the trade of his majesty's sugar colonies in America," imposing duties on sugar and rum, and sixpence on every gallon of molasses imported from a foreign colony into any of the British dominions in America. This impost of more than fifty per cent would, if rigidly exacted, have confined the commerce of North America almost exclusively to the English islands, which did not afford a sufficient market for its exports, particularly for its salt fish, and where an adequate supply of molasses could not be obtained; since, with the exception of Jamaica, they all distilled their own. Though this partial and impolitic statute was continued from time to time, in order to quiet the clamours of the English planters, it was the least respected, perhaps because the most pernicious, of the acts of trade; none of which were strictly enforced until after the reduction of Canada.

The English government, regarding the colonies and the colonists as their property, no sooner felt secure in the possession of them, than it very naturally began to consider how to make them most profitable. With this view the officers of the revenue were instructed in 1760 to carry the acts of trade rigidly into execution. In order to fulfil these instructions completely, the deputy collector of Salem applied to the Superior Court for a writ of assistance. According to the ordinary

course of law, no searches or seizures can be made without a special warrant, issued upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, particularly designating the place to be searched and the goods to be seized. But the writ of assistance was to command all sheriffs and other civil officers to assist the person, to whom it was granted, in breaking open and searching every place, where he might suspect any prohibited or uncustomed goods to be concealed. It was a sort of commission, during pleasure, to ransack the dwellings of the citizens; for it was never to be returned, nor any account of the proceedings under it rendered to the court, whence it issued. Such a weapon of oppression in the hands of the inferior officers of the customs, might well alarm even innocence, and confound the violators of the law. The merchants of Boston and Salem united in opposing the petition, and employed James Otis as their counsel. To give a sketch of his argument on that occasion is the object of many of the letters subjoined to Novanglus; and he is stated in them to have declared that no distinction between external and internal taxes existed in theory or could be maintained on any other principle but necessity; and to have "roundly asserted the whole system of the parliamentary regulations of trade, which the writ of assistance was designed to enforce, to be illegal, unconstitutional, tyrannical, null and void." In consequence of this argument, we are told his popularity was without bounds; and at the next election he was for the first time chosen a member of the House of Representatives by an almost unanimous vote. Some idea of the state of public sentiment at that period may be derived from the following remarkable language of the governor, in his speech at the commencement of the session.

'Let me recommend to you to give no attention to declamations tending to promote a suspicion of the civil rights of the people being in danger. Such harangues might suit well in the times of Charles and James, but in the times of the Georges they are groundless and unjust. Since the accession of the first George, there has been no instance of the legal privileges of any corporate body being attacked by any of the king's ministers or servants—without public censure ensuing. His present majesty has given uncommon assurances how much he has at heart the preservation of the liberty, rights and privileges of all his subjects. Can it be sup-

posed that he can forfeit his word; or that he will suffer it to be forfeited by the acts of any servant of his with impunity? An insinuation so unreasonable and injurious I am sure will never be well received among you.'

In the course of the next year, the governor informed the House of Representatives, that, during the recess of the legislature, he had appropriated a small sum towards fitting out the sloop Massachusetts to protect the fishery. The committee appointed to prepare an answer, reported to the house a message, 'every word of which,' says Mr. Adams, 'is Otis,' in which, after desiring his excellency to restore the sloop to her former condition, they add: 'Justice to ourselves and to our constituents obliges us to remonstrate against the method of making or increasing establishments by the governor and council. It is in effect taking from the house their most darling privilege, the right of originating all taxes. It is, in short, annihilating one branch of the legislature. And when once the representatives of a people give up this privilege, the government will very soon become arbitrary. No necessity therefore can be sufficient to justify a House of Representatives in giving up such a privilege; *for it would be of little consequence to the people whether they were subject to George or Lewis, the king of Great Britain or the French king, if both were arbitrary, as both would be, if both could levy taxes without parliament.*'

'Treason, treason'—cried one of the members, when these words were read; but the report was accepted, and the message sent unaltered to the governor. The same day he returned it, accompanied by a letter, requesting that a part of it might be expunged, as disrespectful to the king. It was then proposed to insert an amendment in the message expressive of loyalty, but a certain member crying 'rase them, rase them,' the obnoxious words, which had been underlined by the governor, were erased; 'it being obvious that the remonstrance would be the same in effect with or without them.' The governor sent a vindication of his conduct to the house, and prorogued the assembly before there was time to answer it. Mr. Otis soon afterwards published a vindication of the conduct of the house, in which he contended that no money can be levied or appropriated within the province without the consent of the people or their deputies; and ascribed to the House of Representatives here, the same author-

ity in this respect, as belonged to the House of Commons in Great Britain. This dispute forms indeed no part of the contest between the Colonies and Parliament with regard to the authority of the latter, but it serves to display the opinions and feelings of the people at that time, and to shew how strongly they were attached to their rights,—particularly to 'their most darling privilege, that of originating all taxes,' the infringement of which was subsequently the cause of the revolution;—how jealous they were to guard, how resolute to maintain it.

In the mean time, the laws of trade were enforced with increasing strictness, so as to embarrass American commerce very greatly, particularly that of the northern colonies, the whole of whose foreign trade seemed about to be ruined; an event, which would leave them no means of making remittances to England for the purchase of manufactures,—rendered so necesssary by the severity of their climate,—but direct exportations to that country; to which they had nothing to send, after the subjection of Canada had made that province the seat of the fur trade, but the growth of their forests and the produce of their whale fishery. The apprehension of this evil induced them to urge their agents and correspondents in Great Britain to make every effort to procure a repeal of the most obnoxious statutes, particularly of the sugar and molasses act; or at least to prevent its continuance beyond the end of the session of Parliament in 1764, when it would expire by its own limitation. Their strenuous opposition to this oppressive statute will account for the ridicule so long cast on the inhabitants of New England for their pretended love of molasses.

Yet, during all this time, notwithstanding the language of Mr. Otis, in his argument on writs of assistance, the constitutionality of this and the other laws of trade does not appear to have been denied here with a voice loud and general enough to excite attention in Great Britain, or even in the southern colonies; nor do we know that the authority of parliament to enact them was then openly contested by any deliberative body. If persisted in and enforced, they were indeed a just cause, and would eventually have become a sufficient motive for revolution. But the colonies were not ready to throw off by force, restraints which they had been accustomed to wear from their infancy, and which had hitherto sitten

loosely upon them. They now began to find them galling; and perhaps the time, when they would have grown up to such size as to feel themselves cramped and shackled by them beyond endurance, was not far distant; but if near, it was not impending, certainly not come. The ministry did not choose to wait for it. In the autumn of 1763, they made no secret of their intention to raise a revenue in America, and in December, orders were published here for the vigilant and unsparing enforcement of the most odious of these laws. A letter from Governor Bernard, on the seventh of January following, begins with these words. 'The publication of orders for the strict execution of the molasses act, has caused a greater alarm in this country than the taking of Fort William Henry did in 1757. Petitions from the trading towns have been presented to the General Court, and a large committee of both houses is sitting every day to prepare instructions for their agent.' Those instructions, which were soon afterwards sent to England, contain the following remarks. 'This act was originally obtained and has been continued by the great influence of the sugar colonies in parliament, without any prospect of revenue or national advantages resulting from it. The case however is now altered. The ministry have adopted this act and seem disposed to raise a revenue from it; for, in pursuance of orders from the lords of the treasury, the officers of the customs here have lately given public notice that said act in all its parts will be carried fully into execution; the consequences of which will be ruinous to the trade of this province, hurtful to all the colonies, and greatly prejudicial to the mother country. It has been suggested that the original design of the act laying a duty on sugar, molasses, &c. has been altered, and that it is intended not as a prohibition or restraint on these articles, but to raise a revenue; and that other measures for that purpose have been proposed—we cannot therefore help expressing our concern on this occasion. We are empowered by our charter (and his majesty's other colonies are empowered by the commissions under which they are governed) to raise monies for the support of our government. If duties or taxes are to be laid upon us in any one instance, what assurance have we that they will not be so multiplied as to render this privilege of no importance to us? The growth of the colonies depends upon the enjoyment of their liberties and privileges.'

On the 10th of March, 1764, the House of Commons passed eighteen resolutions for imposing taxes and duties on the colonies. The execution of that, which declared that it might be proper to impose certain stamp duties on them, was deferred to the next session; but the others were immediately enforced by 'an act for granting certain duties in America;' which, after stating that it was just and expedient to raise a revenue there, imposed duties on silks and coloured calicoes from Persia, India or China, and on sugar, wines, coffee and pimento; and made the sugar and molasses act perpetual, reducing the duty on molasses from sixpence to threepence per gallon; and all this for the express and sole purpose of raising a revenue. The same act increased the number of enumerated commodities, laid new and harsh restrictions on commerce, reenacted in terms many of the obsolete laws of trade, and provided that all penalties and forfeitures, accruing under any of them, might be sued for in any court of record or of Admiralty, or in that of Vice Admiralty to be established over all America, at the election of the informer.

The knowledge of these proceedings filled America with clamour. In Massachusetts, the constitutionality of the whole system of revenue,—of which this act imposing duties, no less than the proposed stamp act, was considered a part,—was explicitly denied. The instructions of the inhabitants of Boston to their representatives, direct them to apply for a repeal of this act, if already passed, and exclaim against the distinction between internal and external taxes: 'If our trade may be taxed, why not our lands? Why not the produce of our lands, and every thing we possess or make use of? This, we apprehend, annihilates our charter right to govern and tax ourselves. It strikes at our British privileges, which, as we have never forfeited them, we hold in common with our fellow-subjects, who are natives of Britain. If taxes are laid upon us in any shape, without our having a legal representation where they are laid, are we not reduced from the character of free subjects to the miserable state of tributary slaves?'

Such was the language of these instructions, which are said to have been written by Samuel Adams; but they spoke the sentiments of the whole town—of the whole province.

On the 13th day of June, after it was known that the

new revenue act had received the royal assent, the House of Representatives of Massachusetts Bay ordered a treatise on the rights of the British colonies in general, and of this province in particular, by one of their members, (James Otis,) to be sent to their agent in London, Mr. Mauduit, accompanied by instructions, from which the following passages are extracted.

'Sir, the House of Representatives have received your several letters. The contents are to the last degree alarming. In that of the 30th of December, you seem to wonder at the silence of this house. Volumes have been transmitted from this province in relation to the sugar act to little purpose. If a West-Indian or any other bye influence is to govern and supersede our most essential rights as British subjects, what will it avail us to make remonstrances, or the most demonstrable representations of our rights and privileges?—The silence of the province should have been imputed to any cause, even to despair, rather than be construed into a tacit cession of their rights, or an acknowledgment of a right in the parliament of Great Britain to impose duties and taxes upon a people, who are not represented in the House of Commons.'—'And granting the time may come, which we hope is far off, when the British parliament shall think fit to oblige the North-Americans, not only to maintain civil government among themselves, (for this they have already done) but to support an army to protect them; can it be possible that the duties to be imposed and the taxes to be levied shall be assessed without the voice or consent of one American in parliament? If all the colonists are to be taxed at pleasure, without any representative in parliament, what will there be to distinguish them in point of liberty from the subjects of the most absolute prince? If we are to be taxed at pleasure without our consent, will it be any consolation to us, that we are assessed by an hundred instead of one? If we are not represented, we are slaves.' 'You are to remonstrate against these measures, and if possible, to obtain a repeal of the sugar act, and prevent the imposition of any further duties or taxes on these colonies; measures will be taken that you may be joined by all the other agents.' It may be said, that if the parliament have a right to lay prohibitions, they can certainly lay duties, which is a less burden.' 'The power of laying prohibitions on the dominions not represented in

parliament, should be exercised with great moderation. But this had better be exercised with the utmost rigour than the power of taxing; for this last is the grand barrier of British liberty; which, if once broken down, all is lost. In a word, a people may be free and tolerably happy without a particular branch of trade; but without the privilege of assessing their own taxes, they can be neither.'

James Otis was one of the committee for preparing these instructions, and almost every sentence seems to us to bear the traces of his pen. Immediately on their receiving the sanction of the house, a committee was appointed 'to acquaint the other governments with the instructions sent to the agent of this province, directing him to use his endeavours to obtain a repeal of the sugar act, and to exert himself to prevent a stamp act or any other impositions and taxes upon this and the other American provinces, and in the name and behalf of the house to desire the several assemblies on this continent to join with them in the same measures.' This was the first attempt to unite the colonies in opposition to the authority of parliament. The importance of the step may be more justly estimated, by referring to the manner in which the British government regarded its repetition by the same province, in February, 1768, for the purpose of resisting the revenue act of the year preceding. On that occasion, it was resolved by the House of Lords, 'that the resolution of the Representatives of Massachusetts Bay to write letters to the other colonies, desiring them to join in petitions which deny or draw in question the right of parliament to impose duties or taxes on his majesty's subjects in America, and the writing such letters, in which certain acts of parliament imposing duties and taxes are stated to be infringements of their rights, are proceedings of a most unwarrantable and dangerous nature, calculated to inflame the minds of his majesty's subjects in the other colonies, tending to create unlawful combinations, repugnant to the laws of Great Britain and subversive of the constitution;'—and the Assembly of Massachusetts was required at its next session to rescind the circular letter, under penalty of dissolution in case of refusal,—and it was dissolved accordingly.

On the twenty third of July, 1764, 'the Rights of the British colonies asserted and proved, by James Otis,' was published. After some remarks on the origin of government,

and on the rights of colonies in general, the author proceeds to consider the political and civil rights of the British colonists. He lays it down as a fundamental principle, that all of them are subject to and dependent on Great Britain, and that therefore the parliament has a lawful authority to make acts for the general good, which, by naming them, shall be equally binding on them as on subjects within the realm; but then goes on to assert, that parliament has no authority, either within or without the realm, to impose taxes on any British subjects without their consent; admitting its right to legislate for the colonies in all cases, he denies its right to tax in any. Whatever may now be thought of this distinction, it is the same maintained by Lord Chatham in his celebrated speech on the repeal of the stamp act.

'I can see no reason to doubt,' says Mr. Otis, 'but that the imposition of taxes, whether on trade or on land, or houses, or ships, on real or personal, fixed or floating property in the colonies, is absolutely irreconcileable with the rights of the colonists, as British subjects and as men. I have waited years in hopes to see some one friend of the colonies pleading in public for them. I have waited in vain. One privilege is taken away after another; and where we shall be landed God knows, and I trust will protect and provide for us even should we be driven and persecuted into a more western wilderness on the score of liberty, civil and religious, as many of our ancestors were to these once inhospitable shores of America.—There has been a most profound, and, I think, shameful silence, till it seems almost too late to assert our indisputable rights as men and as citizens. What must posterity think of us? The trade of the whole continent taxed by parliament; stamps and other internal duties and taxes, as they are called, talked of; and not one petition to the king and parliament for relief. I cannot but observe here, that if parliament have an equitable right to tax our trade, it is indisputable that they have as good an one to tax the lands and every thing else. There is no foundation for the distinction some make in England between an internal and external tax on the colonies.'

Yet he does not openly recommend resistance to the laws, but inculcates the utmost submission to the parliament; 'it is possible they may have been misinformed and deceived; their power is uncontrollable but by themselves, and we must

obey. There would be an end of all government if one or more subjects or provinces should take upon them so far to judge of the justice of an act of parliament as to refuse obedience to it. Therefore let parliament lay what burdens they please on us, it is our duty to submit and patiently bear them till they will be pleased to relieve us. It is to be presumed their justice will afford relief by repealing such acts, as through mistake or other human infirmities have been suffered to pass, if they can be convinced that their proceedings are not constitutional or not for the common good.' 'We all think ourselves happy under Great Britain. We love, esteem and reverence our mother country and adore our king. And could the choice of independency be offered the colonies, or subjection to Great Britain upon any terms above absolute slavery, I am convinced they would accept the latter. The ministry in all future generations, may rely on it, that British America will never prove undutiful till driven to it as the last fatal resort against ministerial oppression, which will make the wisest mad and the weakest strong.'

The right of Great Britain to monopolize the trade of the colonies, and for this purpose to prohibit any particular traffic, is not contested. 'But though it be allowed, that liberty may be enjoyed in a comfortable measure where *prohibitions* are laid on the trade of a kingdom or province, yet if *taxes* are laid on either without consent, they cannot be said to be free. This barrier of liberty being once broken down, all is lost.'—'The common law, that inestimable privilege of a trial by jury, is also taken away in all trials in the colonies relating to the revenue, if the informer have a mind to go to the Admiralty.'

He recommends that the colonies should be represented in parliament, in order to make that body better acquainted with the interests of America; but should retain their subordinate legislatures and be taxed by them; because 'it would be impossible for the parliament to judge so well of their abilities to bear taxes, impositions on trade, and other duties and burdens, or of the local laws that might be really needful, as a legislature here.'

All the distinctions advanced in this pamphlet could not well be supported; but we believe it to contain the sentiments prevalent here at the time when it was written; for the language of the people is sometimes inconsistent, as well as that of the learned.

In the same year was published at Boston, an anonymous pamphlet written by Oxenbridge Thatcher, entitled 'The Sentiment of a British American.'

'The writer intends to consider the late act, made in the fourth year of his present majesty, entitled, An Act for granting certain duties in the British colonies and plantations in America, &c. to show the real subjects of grievance therein to the colonies; and that the interest of Great Britain itself may finally be greatly affected thereby.' 'The first objection is, that a tax is thereby laid on several commodities to be raised and levied in the plantations and to be remitted home to England. This is esteemed a grievance, inasmuch as the same are laid, without the consent of the representatives of the colonies. It is esteemed an essential British right, that no person shall be subject to any tax; but what in person or by his representatives he hath a voice in laying.' 'But to say the truth, it is not only by the taxation, that the colonists deem themselves aggrieved. The power therein given to courts of Admiralty alarms them greatly. The common law is the birth right of every subject, and trial by jury a most darling privilege.—Now, by the act we are considering, the colonists are deprived of these privileges.'

Before the end of the year 1764, 'The rights of the colonies examined' was published by the Assembly of Rhode Island; and 'Reasons why the British colonies in America should not be charged with internal taxes by authority of parliament, humbly offered for consideration,' by that of Connecticut. In these pamphlets, they protested against the imposition of stamp duties or any other internal taxes on the colonies. The Assembly of New York also, in its petitions in October, made a similar protest in the boldest language, and even went so far as to deny the distinction between internal taxes and duties on importation. None of them, however, asserted with the energy of Massachusetts, that the act already passed was a direct infringement of their rights, but simply protested against it as an intolerable burden. The southern colonies, who hardly felt or perhaps understood the operation of that statute, leaned to the distinction between internal and external taxation, and confined their opposition almost exclusively to the proposed stamp act.

At the ensuing session of the legislature of Massachusetts in October, the House of Representatives prepared a petition

to the king, asserting their rights. But the council under the influence of Mr. Hutchinson, refused their assent to it; and after much discussion, both united in a petition to the House of Commons, in which they remonstrated against the continuance of the late revenue act and the imposition of any further duties or taxes, solely on the ground that such measures were unprecedented and unequitable, without uttering a word in derogation of the authority assumed by parliament. To induce the house to concur in this petition, it may have been urged with much plausibility that the proceedings published in their journal of the previous session and officially communicated to the other colonies, were a sufficient protest against this authority, to prevent any idea that they acquiesced in its exercise; that to agitate the question of right, in a direct appeal to the government, would diminish the prospect of success; that their bold language, denying the constitutionality of the act imposing duties, had not been repeated by the other colonies; that it was less important to contend about the legality of the power claimed by parliament, than to prevent its exercise; and that unanimity would be more efficient for this purpose than violence. But that they did not intend to admit the authority exercised over them, is apparent from the letter to their agent, in which this petition was enclosed. 'We have endeavoured to avoid giving offence, and have touched upon our rights in such a manner, as that no inference can be drawn that we have given them up on the one hand, nor that we set up in opposition to the parliament, nor deny that we are bound by acts of parliament on the other. But in a letter to you, we may be more explicit on this point—a right the people of the colonies have undoubtedly by charter and commissions to tax themselves. So far as the parliament shall lay taxes on the colonies, so far they will deprive them of this right.'

Their constitutents were greatly displeased and mortified by the language of the petition; but in this day of tranquillity we can look back upon their motives, at least without a blush. Their proceedings at the previous session, together with their petition and those from New York, were laid before the privy council in England on the eleventh of December, and by them referred, as matters too high for their decision, to the consideration of parliament. They were not however

submitted to that body and at its next session the stamp act passed.

Have all these things nothing to do with the history of the revolution? Do they 'speak peace of the heart and of the mind?' Yet they all occurred before the resolutions of Virginia.

After the passage of the stamp act, the House of Burgesses of that province was, it is true, the first deliberative assembly to repeat the assertion, that parliament had no authority to impose taxes in America; and did it on motion of Mr. Henry in bold and uncompromising language, unqualified by arguments of expedience, unsoftened by professsions of loyalty. But within a few days, and before those resolutions were heard of in Massachusetts, the House of Representatives here,—who had a year before explicitly declared the whole system of revenue, together with the act already passed and the proposed stamp act, as parts of it, to be violations of their liberty, and invited all America to unite in resisting them,—were ready to take the second step in the path to independence; and unanimously voted to propose to the legislatures of the other colonies a meeting of delegates from them all, at New York, in the following October, to consult on their situtation, and prepare a general address to the king and parliament. This was the first general congress assembled in opposition to the government, and was deemed in England dangerous to the authority of the crown, especially when considered in connexion with the spirit of the particular assembly by which it was proposed.

The idea, however, that either of these measures was the beginning of the revolution, is not only inconsistent with the facts previously stated, but would render several subsequent events utterly inexplicable. When parliament at the next session, desirous of satisfying the colonies without relinquishing its own pretensions, determined to pass an act declaratory of its right to bind them in all cases, and at the same time to repeal the laws of which they complained as infringements of their liberties; not only the stamp act, but most of the duties imposed by the act of 1764 were repealed. These proceedings were probably intended as a pledge, that, notwithstanding the claim of parliamentary authority, no duties either internal or external, excepting such as were mere regulations of trade, should be imposed on them in

practice. At least, the colonists so understood them, and were therefore satisfied. The enforcement of the mutiny act in New York, and the attempt to enforce it in Massachusetts, fanned for a moment the dying embers of dissension, but it was the revenue act of 1767 which kindled them to a flame. This measure, and those employed to carry it into execution, were the immediate subjects of contest between the two countries. It affected the interest of all America; but the inhabitants of Massachusetts were confessedly the most forward, unhesitating and strenuous in opposing it. Non-importation agreements, the only means employed by our deliberative bodies to prevent its operation, were repeatedly entered into here, months before the other colonies would consent to adopt them. What province was it, at which the parliament hurled all its thunders, which was exposed to the greatest suffering, reproached as the most rebellious, punished as the most guilty, its capital blockaded and garrisoned, its charter abrogated, its government dissolved, its courts of justice closed, its inhabitants subjected to martial law and to the arbitrary will of the ministry? Was it not Massachusetts? And why? Surely the cause of all this is not to be sought, as is fancifully suggested, in the character of Governor Bernard. It may be much better learned from the report, exaggerated as it is, of the committee of the House of Lords in 1774, intended to vindicate the conduct of parliament towards this province, and from the answer to it written and published by Dr. Franklin.

It has never been satisfactorily explained, says Mr. Wirt, why the military preparations for enforcing the revenue act of 1767, were principally confined to Massachusetts. This supposed mystery is one of the consequences of the error into which he has fallen, and against which we are contending. The desired explanation can be found only at an earlier period of the revolution than that, which he considers its commencement. While the rest of America, with reference to the proposed stamp duty, had denied the authority of parliament to impose that or any other internal tax on them, Massachusetts alone had protested in the same decisive language against the constitutionality of the revenue act of 1764, and had abjured more earnestly than any other colony, the distinction between taxes and duties on goods imported, as instruments of revenue. In this province therefore the most

strenuous opposition to the act of 1767, which was an act imposing duties on importation, was to be expected, and for this reason, it was here that military preparations were made to deter or suppress it. The act struck equally at all the colonies; but in this it opened an old wound, which had long been rankling. The minds of the people were already made up to resist the whole system of taxation, external as well as internal; they had spoken three years before the sentiments and the language, which rung through all America soon after. Let us not be understood to intimate that Massachusetts was more attached to liberty than the other colonies, or more determined to maintain the principle, that no taxes can be imposed on a free people without their consent. We make no such pretensions. But she was the first to perceive and assert the act of 1764 to be a direct violation of that principle, for the simple reason perhaps that she was most affected by it. It is very natural that those should look most speedily and narrowly to their rights, whose interests are touched most nearly; and that those should be first to detect the wrong, who are the first to feel it.

But Mr. Wirt appeals to authority, high authority we admit, for the assertion that Patrick Henry 'gave the first impulse to the ball of the revolution. Let Mr. Jefferson however explain his own words. 'I well recollect to have used some such expression in a letter to him; and am tolerably certain that our own state being the subject under contemplation, I must have used it with reference to that only.'* The remark, thus restricted to Virginia, is certainly no denial that the revolution began earlier elsewhere. Mr. Adams, an authority not inferior, is explicit on the subject.

The Lords of Trade in England, in a representation to the king on the first of October, 1765, after stating that the House of Representatives of Massachusetts had in the preceding year printed and published a letter to their agent, in which the acts and resolutions of the parliament of Great Britain were treated with the most indecent disrespect, and principles tending to a denial of the right of parliament to levy taxes upon his majesty's subjects in the colonies were openly avowed, and that the former Board of Trade had thought it their duty to transmit the transaction to his majes-

* See his letter of March 3, 1818, to Dr. Waterhouse, printed in the Boston Patriot, Dec. 10, 1818.

ty's consideration, that such directions might be given as the nature and importance of the matter required;—proceed to complain, that the same spirit still continues, and to recite the resolutions of Massachusetts in 1765, recommending a general congress,—'the first instance,' they add, 'of a general congress appointed without the authority of the crown; a measure, as they conceive, of dangerous tendency in itself, and more especially so, when taken for the purposes expressed in their resolution, and connected with the spirit that has appeared throughout the whole conduct of this particular assembly.'

'The report of the Lords Committee, appointed in 1774, by the House of Lords, to inquire into the several proceedings in the colony of Massachusetts Bay in opposition to the sovereignty of his majesty in his parliament over that province,' states that 'the committee, having perused the report of the board of trade of the eleventh day of December, 1764, and the papers laid before his majesty therewith; find in the said papers the strongest assertions, by the assembly of the Massachusetts Bay, of their sole right to pass laws, particularly of taxation, and of their resolution to invite the other colonies to combine with them in measures to prevent the king in his parliament from passing any such laws.' As instances—are cited, a passage from their letter to M. Mauduit, and one from Otis' 'rights of the colonies,' the doctrines of which are, as the committee complain, avowed and authenticated in the same letter.

In answer to this report, Dr. Franklin, then in England, published 'a true state of the proceedings in the parliament of Great Britain and in the province of Massachusetts Bay, relative to the giving and granting the money of the people of that province and of all America, in the House of Commons, in which they are not represented;'—in which we find this passage: 'On the 10th of March, 1764, the House of Commons resolved, "that it may be proper to charge certain stamp duties in the colonies and plantations," but did not at that time form any bill for the purpose. On the fifth of April, 1764, an act passed for imposing certain duties in America by the British parliament, for the purpose of raising a revenue. In consequence of these proceedings, the House of Representatives of the Massachusetts Bay came to resolutions, "That the sole right of giving and granting the money

of the people of that province was vested in them as their legal representatives, and that the imposition of duties and taxes by the parliament of Great Britain upon a people who are not represented in the House of Commons, is absolutely irreconcilable with their rights." The author afterwards states, that on the arrival of the stamp act in America in the following year, every assembly on the continent came to resolutions against the right of imposing taxes upon them unrepresented and without their consent; and that the House of Representatives of the Massachusetts Bay, observing the little attention paid to separate petitions, resolved to propose a general congress. The object of Dr. Franklin in this pamphlet was not to exaggerate the opposition of Massachusetts, but to represent it in the mildest light. 'If they have been particularly unquiet,' says he, 'they have also been particularly irritated and injured.'

In opposition to these indisputable facts and contemporary documents, which no authority can impeach or question, we find in the life of Patrick Henry, a statement, that the staunchest friends of the revolution in Virginia opposed Mr. Henry's measures as too rash, and that Dr. Franklin at that time thought resistance premature, circumstances, which however true, have no relation to the proceedings of Massachusetts, —a casual remark of Mr. Jefferson, which, as it now appears, was misunderstood,—certain extracts from the Pennsylvania Gazette, which, to our apprehension, prove nothing but the weakness of the cause they are cited to support,—and finally the opinion of Mrs. Mercy Warren, 'that the House of Burgesses of Virginia was the first to resolve against the encroachments of power and the unwarrantable designs of the British parliament,' an opinion deemed conclusive by the biographer, for the technical and sagacious reason that this lady was an inhabitant of Massachusetts, and so we suppose is to be considered a party to the cause. Notwithstanding this high authority and pertinent argument, we must be permitted to think the proceedings of Massachusetts, in June, 1764, an open resistance to the encroachments of the British parliament. Indeed we are inclined to consider them the beginning of the controversy between the two countries. We are aware that they were not the first symptoms of uneasiness. The attempt to enforce the acts of trade excited great discontent in the northern colonies. It was regarded by them

as impolitic and burdensome, and if no new schemes of oppression had bsen devised, might in time have been the cause of separation. This sowed the first seeds of dissension, and on that account may with some propriety be deemed the beginning of the revolution.

But the right of Great Britain to restrain the colonial trade was not then generally denied, and until war commenced, the Americans professed their willingness to acquiesce in the continuance of the practice. The question actually in controversy was, whether a revenue should be raised in the colonies by authority of parliament. At what time the project was adopted by the ministry cannot well be determined; it was first publicly and distinctly avowed in the autumn of 1763. The legislature of Massachusetts, understanding the directions then given to enforce the sugar and molasses act to be designed for raising a revenue, expressed, as we have seen, their doubts of the right of government to enforce it for this purpose, though they did not contest its legality as a mere restraint on trade. The ministerial project was sanctioned in the House of Commons by the resolutions of the tenth of March, and carried into execution by the revenue act of the fifth of April, 1764, which was not only a direct assertion, but an actual exercise by the whole parliament of their pretended authority. The proceedings of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts Bay, in June following, were a direct denial of that authority, and an attempt to unite the colonies in preventing its operation. Here then the parties were at issue. To enforce this claim the parliament resorted to all those arbitrary measures, which drove America to arms, and at last to independence.

Such are our reasons for considering these measures the beginning of the contest. But we attach no great importance to this opinion. It is of little consequence what degree of opposition be deemed the first revolutionary step, provided the idea attached to the term be distinctly stated, and the time and manner, in which successive measures of resistance followed each other, be properly understood. Will it be said that the establishment of the principle that a free people cannot be taxed without their own consent, was the beginning of the revolution? This is older than America:—that it was the application of that principle to the relative situation of the parliament and the colonies? Years, generations before

the stamp act, Massachusetts and Virginia both denied the obligation of the navigation act, because they were not represented in parliament:—is our attention to be confined to a period subsequent to the French war, and are we asked, who first complained of the attempt to raise a revenue in America? Undoubtedly those who first felt the burden. Who first denied the constitutionality of an act of parliament passed for this purpose? Those who first perceived its object. Who first determined to resist the system of taxation by force? Those who were first convinced that all other means would be ineffectual. Whatever measure be selected as the beginning of the revolution, it is no easy thing to ascertain by what individual it was first conceived or suggested. We do not profess to say of any one, this was the man,—but think, with Mr. Jefferson, the discussion of such pretensions to be as futile and unimportant as inquiring, 'who was first among the three hundred Spartans to offer his name to Leonidas.'

But it is not unimportant that the progress of discontent and the development of public opinion should be carefully traced, that the principles and arguments then prevalent should be understood and perpetuated; and that the establishment of our independence should not be deemed the work of any one master spirit, who could wield the community at will;—but that we should feel it to be founded on the character and condition of the people, and to depend on them for its continuance. In Virginia, Mr. Henry was ardent and decisive in declaring the right of the colonists to exemption from all parliamentary taxes; but the House of Burgesses had advanced the same doctrine at their preceding session, and we cannot think that assertion less sincere or less likely to be maintained, because it was expressed in the language of expostulation, or believe that its authors needed any warning to prevent their surrendering their rights tamely. Mr. Otis was not less explicit and determined in proclaiming the same principle in Massachusetts; yet when he was suspected, for a moment, (it is not to our present purpose to inquire how justly) of wavering in his opposition, his influence sunk, and his name was loaded with reproaches. We are therefore persuaded that the preservation of American liberty was not suspended on the exertions of either of them; and that the declaration of Independence would not have been made a day later, though James Otis and Patrick Henry had died in the cradle.

We are by no means insensible to their merits. Both devoted their great talents unreservedly to the public service. But they differed from their countrymen in abilities and eloquence to display their rights, rather than in sense to appreciate, or spirit to defend them. Had it not been for these men, the complaints of America would have been uttered in different language, and perhaps at other moments, and certain public measures suggested by them might not have been adopted;—but we must be careful not to deem any particular mode of expressing opposition essential to its existence, nor to imagine it necessary that the proceedings of the colonial assemblies should have followed each other in one definite and invariable connexion, in order to their success; as if the series of political measures were a chain, on the strength of every link of which the fate of our country depended. If this were so, the acquisition of independence should be regarded as little more than a happy accident. Yet we are aware of the importance of studying closely the whole history of the revolution. To those whose simple and natural feelings need no hyperbole to excite them, and who are willing to estimate moderately and justly the importance of single events, nothing can be more engaging or more useful than a minute attention to the measures actually employed, and to the characters, conduct and language of the eminent individuals who suggested or applied them.

All such must be gratified that the letters of Mr. Adams invite the public attention to James Otis. It is time that the life of that man were written. His talents, exertions, and services were as remarkable as his fate, and will be remembered as long as his country continues worthy of the liberty which he laboured to vindicate. His character and situation were so different from those of Mr. Henry, that we cannot estimate very accurately their comparative merits. Admitting them, however, to have been, as we are told they were, the chief promoters of the particular measures of resistance adopted in the colonies to which they respectively belonged, and comparing their general conduct and what remains of their productions, we may form some idea of their characteristic distinctions in public life. Henry, not fond of toil, needed some strong excitement to call him forth; but sudden in conception, rapid in execution, rushed impetuously to his object, without ever looking behind him; and that attained,

paused for another great occasion. Otis, no less ardent, but indefatigably active, and surrounded by inexhaustible and subtile opponents, whose secret influence was more to be dreaded than their open hostility, was never contented with victory, but laboured to secure every step of his progress. It was not enough with him to reach his aim, unless he could carry the whole people along with him;—he would not tolerate the voice, or even the existence of dissent. Hence his numerous publications, his unwearied efforts in private, the maturity of his schemes, the unanimity with which they were generally adopted, and now and then a little hesitation and inconsistency when he doubted whether some bold proposition would obtain general and effectual support. Both founded their opposition to England on principle; but the former accompanied his arguments by irresistible appeals to the feelings of the moment; while the latter was constantly addressing motives more durable and general, and directing the attention of his fellow citizens to established usage, to cherished prejudices, and to their interests. One delighted to animate, the other strove principally to confirm and organize resistance. Henry is said to have been prophetic in his anticipations, but the measures supported by Otis were most systematic and prospective. We ought not, however, to consider them rivals, or to think the praises bestowed on one of them a disparagement of the other;—the gratitude of their country has room enough for both, and for their associates in the same cause. All were united in their efforts; neither personal jealousies, nor even the intrigues of their enemies could separate them while living, and now they are in their graves, their names should not be set at variance by their friends.

A still more important object recommended in these letters is the history of our commerce, without a knowledge of which it is impossible to appreciate justly the advantages obtained by the revolution. They are sometimes greatly misrepresented. Our independence has been spoken of as an emancipation from slavery; whereas the colonists always regulated their internal concerns, and claimed and exercised from the beginning, the most essential rights of freemen. On the other hand, it has been occasionally regarded as a mere security against encroachments, as if America were now in no better situation than it was before those encroach-

ments were attempted. It is true, that it was the project of rais ng a revenue in the colonies, which united them in opposition to Great Britain: security against parliamentary encroachments was indeed the object of their resistance; it was all for which they contended, but it was by no means all that they gained. By the revolution they were not only protected from the imposition of taxes without their consent, but freed from that abominable system of colonial monopoly which is the disgrace of modern Europe; and to whose continuance they were willing to submit for some time longer, rather than resort to civil war. Incalculable advantages have been derived from the emancipation of our commerce, not only by our own country, but by the whole of civilized Europe, and by England herself, even by the very classes of her citizens, whose short-sighted and selfish clamours occasioned the establishment of a system, the subversion of which has ultimately been so beneficial to them. These facts may serve to illustrate an important political lesson, to which we are too often prevented from listening by the din of private interest;—that monopolizing restrictions, though they may enrich individuals, are short-lived, lean and barren expedients for public prosperity, consuming the real wealth of a nation, without adding any thing durable to its ornament or its strength.

We have dwelt thus long on these letters, because they are the only part of the book under consideration, which is of recent date, and because the period to which they relate, the time immediately preceding the stamp act, is in our opinion highly important and has been peculiarly neglected. The essays of Novanglus and Massachusettensis are valuable documents in the history of the revolution. The adherents of the ministry had watched with great solicitude the conduct of the continental congress of 1774, not without hope of deriving some advantage from its proceedings whatever should be their character;—rashness might alarm or hesitation discourage some among the people. These hopes were disappointed. The congress, anxious above all things to unite the colonists, displayed a fixed resolution to maintain their rights, and at the same time an unwillingness to hasten hostilities, and alluded to the necessity of preparing for other measures, in terms which the forward might regard as a preparation for immediate war, and the cautious or hesitating

as a threat designed to intimidate their enemies. The general tendency of their proceedings, however, could not be mistaken, and the ministerial papers were crowded with efforts to counteract it. With this view, Jonathan Sewall, Attorney General of Massachusetts Bay, a man of talents to be conspicuous in either party, published a series of essays signed Massachusettensis, and addressed to the inhabitants of this province, in which he gives in substance the following account of the progress of discontent, from the close of the preceding war.

Great Britain finding herself then loaded with debt, while the acquisition of new territories increased her annual expenditure, and thinking it just that America, who shared the national prosperity, should bear a part of the national burdens, passed an act for raising a revenue here by the imposition of certain stamp duties. The amount of these was supposed by the Americans to be more than their proportion, and the payment of them beyond their ability. They therefore remonstrated against their continuance, but at first without the slightest idea of disputing the authority of parliament to impose them. Some months afterwards, the resolutions of Virginia, denying the right of parliament to levy internal taxes in the colonies, were published, and as they flattered the love of independence natural to all men, were soon repeated throughout the continent. The newspapers were filled with incitements to resistance, non-importation agreements were adopted, the merchants and manufacturers of England were alarmed, and other circumstances occurring to strengthen opposition there, a change of the ministry took place, and the stamp act was repealed.

When the act passed for imposing duties on glass, paper, teas, &c. it was declared to be another instance of taxation, because duties were laid on necessaries of life. The former doctrine, that parliament might impose duties on trade, but not internal taxes, was now abandoned, and it was discovered that no duties could be levied for the purpose of raising a revenue. Accordingly, pamphlets, associations, resolves,—the whole system of American opposition was again put in motion, and a repeal of all the duties excepting that on tea was obtained. This was the proper moment for closing the contest. But the whigs, unwilling to relinquish their authority over the people, persuaded them that this tax was only

preparatory to others the most odious and oppressive, and to a division of the country into lordships; the clergy engaged in the controversy, the agent in London (Dr. Franklin) was constantly recommending new plans of opposition, and the public were kept in continual agitation. In the House of Representatives, the same zealous whigs were always put on the committees to prepare spirited resolves, and the votes were inserted by yeas and nays in the journals, in order that every one, who opposed the measures of resistance to government, might be known and deprived of his seat at the next election. Those members of the council, who opposed the violent proceedings of the house, were not again chosen by that body; and since the governor could do nothing without the concurrence of the council, the whole administration was paralyzed. The judges indeed remained uncorrupted and unawed, but the juries, by some management, were principally whigs, and would neither indict nor convict those accused of libels, riots and insurrections. At length, our patriots determined to take the last step for becoming independent states, and flatly denied that parliament had a right to make any laws whatever, binding on the colonies. He then gives a relation of the circumstances accompanying the destruction of the tea in Boston, and undertakes to prove it unjustifiable on the principles of the whigs themselves; because the duties on it would have been advanced by the agents of the East India Company and never paid by the people, unless they chose to purchase it. The committees of correspondence, invented, as he intimates, by Samuel Adams, are condemned as most formidable engines of opposition to government, exercising an undefined and unlimited authority, and deeming themselves amenable to none for the abuse of their assumed power.

After this account of the progress and the means of resistance to the authority of parliament, he argues in support of that authority, that the colonies are a part of Great Britain, and therefore necessarily subject to the supreme legislature of the whole empire;—that there cannot be two sovereign powers in the same state,—and that if the colonies were not subordinate to parliament, each would be a separate kingdom, whose assembly would pursue its own particular interest without regard to that of the rest, and there could be no provision for the good of the whole, no just apportionment

among the several parts, of the expense of supporting the common government. He asserts too, that it had been the immemorial usage of parliament to regulate the internal concerns of the colonies, and even to lay taxes on them, and mentions several statutes as instances of the exercise of such authority. On the whole, he concludes, that if they laboured under any grievance, it was not the exertion of illegal power over them by parliament, but their want of representatives in that body.

He seems, however, to rely with most confidence on arguments, tending to show the probability of defeat, and constantly recurs to them with an evident conviction of their validity and success;—recollecting probably, that men's conduct is often as much influenced by their expectation of the event, as their subsequent judgments are by the knowledge of it; and that an apprehension of the unfavourable termination of the contest with Great Britain had already separated some honest and intelligent men from the popular party, and kept some zealous patriots standing for a time on the sharpest edge of hesitation. Sometimes he dwells on the guilt and punishment of rebellion, and warns the people that their own thoughtlessness and the ambition of their leaders had hurried them on till they were exposed to its penalty, from the infliction of which he is labouring to save them. 'I saw the small grain of sedition when it was planted; it was as a grain of mustard. I have watched the plant until it has become a great tree; the vilest reptiles that crawl upon the earth, are concealed at the root; the foulest birds of the air rest upon its branches. I now would induce you to go to work immediately, and cut it down,—for a two-fold reason; because it is a pest to society, and lest it be felled suddenly by a stronger arm, and crush its thousands in its fall.' He states that the English nation is united in the persuasion of its right to tax the colonies, and no less determined to maintain, than America is to resist it; that an issue has been rashly tendered by the colonists, which can be decided only by the sword, whose decision is not doubtful; for the army of the parliament will have nothing to encounter but an undisciplined militia, its navy will destroy the towns upon the coast, while the Canadians and savages will desolate the back settlements. On the other side, the colonies will not unite in the war, New England alone or perhaps this single province will be the

victim; and in this province itself there are many, who, if they must fight, will fight under the standard of loyalty. Even should the colonies be successful, and attain independence, their mutual jealousies and rivalries would prevent their uniting under any one government; unless indeed their army, after its triumph over that of England, should become subservient to the ambition of its leader, and subject them to his despotic power. Or, if these evils should be escaped, France and Spain would soon recover their ancient possessions on this continent, and making an easy prey of the colonists, no longer defended by the power of Great Britain, would divide their spoils between them.

Now for the other side of the picture. John Adams, on his return from Philadelphia, were he had been as a member of the continental congress, finding the newspapers filled with ministerial publications, among which those of Massachusettensis were the most able and conspicuous, determined to expose the misrepresentations of fact and the fallacious reasonings which they contained. He states the scheme of taxing the colonists by act of parliament, to have originated with the tory party in America; and to have been proposed by Governor Shirley in 1754 to Dr. Franklin, who at that time urged against it the same arguments by which it has been ever since opposed. It was then abandoned, and its enforcement first attempted by the act of 1764, when and ever since the right of parliament to raise any revenue in this country has been disputed. Referring to the proceedings above detailed by us, he complains of the ignorance or misrepresentation of his opponent in asserting that opposition began after the passage of the stamp act, and declares that the resolutions of Virginia, though highly honourable to that province and to their author, made no alteration in the opinion of the colonies. He shows that the restrictions on the trade of this country were contributions to the wealth of the British, far greater than its proportion of the national expenditure,—that the Americans had not made any new demands nor advanced any new doctrines, but merely insisted on the continuance of the mode of government, practised from the first settlement of the country,—and that the duty on tea was in fact designed as a precedent; it was too trifling to be persisted in with any other view; or at any rate it would be a precedent in effect. It was surely no cause of wonder or of complaint,

that the people should choose such a house, and the house such a council, as represented their sentiments faithfully. How could the juries be other than whigs, when nine tenths of the people were such; or how could they punish as crimes what they deemed upright and lawful resistance to illegal measures? 'The house and board were whigs, the grand juries and petit juries were whigs, towns were whigs, the clergy were whigs, the agents were whigs, and wherever you found people you found all whigs;'—and so much the greater the folly as well as the guilt of those who attempted to crush them. One of the most elaborate of these essays gives an account of the destruction of the tea, and vindicates it on the ground of its necessity. The committees of correspondence are admitted to be powerful agents for uniting the people, and the strongest barriers of liberty; but are said to exercise no powers except those delegated to them by the people, and to hold themselves always amenable to them.

But the author of Novanglus hastens to the question of right, and evidently delights to dwell on it; conscious that it was the foundation of the controversy, and the strong hold of his cause. He asserts that the colonies were no part of Great Britain; for when that kingdom was formed by the union of England and Scotland, they were not parts of either, nor have they ever been annexed to the realm by act of parliament and their own consent. The parliament is supreme over those dominions only which are represented in it. The necessity of one general superintending power for the regulation of trade is admitted, and this necessity has induced the colonists to acquiesce in the exercise of this power by parliament, but no such power is necessary for any other purpose. Inconvenience may indeed result from the want of a body, by which burdens requisite for the common defence and security may be duly apportioned, yet it would be not only inconvenient but unjust that this should be done by one of the parties alone, by a parliament ignorant of the wants and resources of America, and interested to lay on it the heaviest share of the burden. Admitting this want however to be a defect in the constitution, which can be endured no longer, surely it must be supplied by the common consent of all whose interests are to be affected by the change. Instances are adduced to shew that the right of parliament to regulate the internal concerns of the colonies had not been

admitted by them, and that its right to raise a revenue here had always been constantly and strenuously denied. The idea that subjection to that body is involved in allegiance to the king, is controverted, and allegiance proved to be due to the person of the sovereign only, and not to the parliament or to the crown.

He then enters into a learned and minute investigation of the manner in which England acquired its authority over Wales and Ireland, and shews it to be founded, as far as it has any just foundation, on compact with those countries. But where and when was any compact made with America? He disclaims for the colonies the idea of any further independence than had always been enjoyed by them, and laughs at the charge of rebellion. Those are rebels who resist the supreme authority, but it is no crime to resist oppression. What if it be treason to subvert established government? It is the ministry and their adherents who are attempting to subvert it: the people are struggling for its support. He denies that the English are united in favour of parliament, and appeals to the resolutions of the colonists to shew how united they are against it. With characteristic boldness he spurns the thought of danger,—if England will appeal to the sword, Americans will not stand still to be butchered,—their militia will learn discipline,—the ruin of the commercial towns may exasperate, but cannot subdue the country,—the Canadians and savages may perhaps be their friends; if not, they do not fear them as enemies,—in a land-war, this continent might defend itself against the world,—and let come what will, any thing is better than unqualified subjection. The last of these essays is dated April 17, 1775. Two days afterwards hostilities commenced at Lexington, and put a stop to the publication.

The essays of Massachusettensis are written with great ingenuity and address, and in an ornamented and polished style; those of Novanglus are distinguished by clearness and force of reasoning, copiousness of illustration, vehemence of manner, and occasional traits of genuine and original humour, which remind us of Dr. Franklin. Both are admirably adapted to their object, and cannot be read without emotion, even now. What intensity of feeling must have been excited by them at the time of their publication? The private history of their authors gives them a peculiar interest.

Engaged in the same pursuits, and highly distinguished among all their associates, they had been friends from their youth up. They habitually addressed each other by their christian names, Jonathan and John; and Mr. Adams, in allusion to one of the most engaging portions of scripture history, frequently expressed the wish that his name had been David, as an emblem of their affection. They early embraced different political opinions; but until the year 1774, notwithstanding the general prevalence of a bitterness of party spirit, such as has not been seen in our days; amid contentions, which seemed to snap the bands of society asunder, the attachment of these two men, among the most active, zealous and eminent of their respective parties, remained unbroken. But at last the sword was drawn to separate brother from brother, and friend from friend. The following account of their parting is from the preface by Mr. Adams.

'We continued our friendship and confidential intercourse, though professedly in boxes of politics as opposite as east and west, until the year 1774, when we both attended the Superior Court in Falmouth, Casco-Bay, now Portland. I had then been chosen a delegate to Congress. Mr. Sewall invited me to take a walk with him, very early in the morning, on the great hill. In the course of our rambles, he very soon begun to remonstrate against my going to Congress. He said "that Great Britain was determined on her system; her power was irresistible, and would certainly be destructive to me, and to all those who should persevere in opposition to her designs." I answered, "that I knew Great Britain was determined on her system, and that very determination determined me on mine; that he knew I had been constant and uniform in opposition to all her measures; that the die was now cast; I had passed the Rubicon; swim or sink, live or die, survive or perish with my country, was my unalterable determination." The conversation was protracted into length, but this was the substance of the whole. It terminated in my saying to him, "I see we must part, and with a bleeding heart I say, I fear forever; but you may depend upon it, this adieu is the sharpest thorn on which I ever sat my foot." I never conversed with him again till the year 1788. Mr. Sewall retired in 1775 to England, where he remained and resided in Bristol.'

'In 1788, [*] Mr. Sewall came to London to embark for Hali-

* Mr. Adams was then ambassador from the United States at the Court of Great Britain.

fax. I inquired for his lodgings, and instantly drove to them, laying aside all etiquette, to make him a visit. I ordered my servant to announce John Adams,—was instantly admitted, and both of us, forgetting that we had ever been enemies, embraced each other as cordially as ever. I had two hours conversation with him in a most delightful freedom upon a multitude of subjects. He told me he had lived for the sake of his two children ; he had spared no pains nor expense in their education, and he was going to Halifax in hope of making some provision for them. They are now two of the most respectable gentlemen in Canada; one of them a Chief Justice ; the other an Attorney General. Their father lived but a short time after his return to America ; evidently broken down by his anxieties, and probably dying of a broken heart. He always lamented the conduct of Great Britain toward America. No man more constantly congratulated me, while we lived together in America, upon any news, true or false, favourable to a repeal of the obnoxious statutes and a redress of our grievances ; but the society in which he lived had convinced him that all resistance was not only useless but ruinous.'

These productions confer high honour, not only on their authors, but on those to whom they were addressed. Recollect the time when they were written. Argument, remonstrance, expostulation, all amicable modes of controversy, were exhausted; Boston was filled with troops designed to enforce the edicts of the government, and the Americans were ready for the conflict, and only waiting for the first blood to be shed by their enemies to sanction the last measure of resistance, an appeal to arms. The storm was just bursting,—and what is it that we hear? Not the sullen murmurs, not the mutterings of vengeance, which ordinarily precede the tempest of civil commotion, but the still small voice of reason. Instead of the ravings of fanaticism, or speculative rant about the perfectibility of human nature, and its exemption from all political control,—arguments founded on justice, established usage and expediency are addressed to the public, and urged, on both sides, by men well able to estimate their effect, with an evident persuasion that they would influence the minds and conduct of the people.

MISCELLANEOUS JOURNAL.

Preface to the Selecta Principum Historicorum, published by WYTTENBACH.

[Translation. Continued from p. 206.]

It will be as unnecessary, as it would be tedious, to state my reasons for selecting the particular passages which I have from the five authors above mentioned. It can scarcely be conceived, how much time I have spent in making a choice, and in deliberating whether I should take this or that passage; at one time rejecting parts which I had just transcribed, and at another, making additions of new matter; and, after all, doubting whether I should not still take some other parts, which charmed, and as it were, fastened themselves upon me. In choosing such as I have, it has been my aim to take those passages which would please, at the same time that they would be useful to learners; and I had regard particularly to such as were easy to be understood, or would afford delight from their elegance, and instruction from their weight of matter, or would conduce to an accurate knowledge of the particular genius of the author. I have frequently chosen an author's *Exordium;* because an accurate examination of that, like opening the vestibule of a temple, displays the work itself to our view; and because I had observed that young persons, who attempted to master an author by their own efforts, were often deterred from prosecuting their design by the difficulties they encountered in the commencement of his works from the peculiarities of a style, to which they had not been accustomed. From Plutarch I have selected two entire lives, those of Demosthenes and Cicero; which above all others are most intimately connected with whatever relates to elegant literature.

In the works which we have of the ancients, it now and then happens that we find expressions which are either corrupted, or obscure from other causes; and this makes them hard to be understood at all by pupils, and not easy to be

thoroughly comprehended even by the learned. Difficulties arising from the first cause I leave to oral explanation in my school; those of the other kind, as well as the emendation of corrupted readings, I have thought proper to publish in my notes to this volume; but at the same time with so much brevity, as not to tire or confound the learner.

The several extracts are here given, as they are to be found in the most correct editions. Herodotus, as corrected by those eminent men, Wesseling and Valckenaer, holds the first rank among the editions of Greek authors; Thucydides, notwithstanding the labours of the excellent editor, Duker, falls far short of Herodotus; Xenophon is in a proportionably worse state than Thucydides, and Plutarch, worse than either; for Stephens' editions of the two latter are still the best; that is, the second Paris edition of Xenophon, in 1581, and the Genevan octavo edition of Plutarch, of 1572.

In correcting the text of Polybius, the diligence of learned editors (the last of whom is the celebrated Schweighaeuser) has effected as much as could be done with the means which remain to us. I have not overlooked the materials of the later commentators and editors, but have given them due praise in my notes; in which also, I have apprised the reader of such emendations as I thought worthy of being adopted, either from the suggestions of others, or from my own conjectures, or lastly from manuscript; for I have had recourse to some manuscripts which were never before used; as in the text of Thucydides I have employed the manuscript which lately belonged to the younger Burman, and had before that been the property of Meybomcius; and in the extracts from the Cyropœdia, I have used a manuscript of the very first character: both of these belong to the library of Leyden University, and were submitted to my use by the kindness of Ruhnken. In Plutarch, I had many aids in my own collection of materials, which contain the various readings of about ten ancient manuscripts. To each of the extracts I have prefixed a concise but plain argument, which I have written in Greek; and this will not be disapproved of by any person who likes consistency; for, if it is proper to have Latin arguments in Latin authors, we ought to have Greek ones in Greek authors; or at least, if we must have Latin arguments in Greek books, we ought in Latin books to have arguments

in the vernacular tongue of the editor. But, in this particular, as I have followed my own taste, so I leave others to consult theirs. And here I should close this preface, if I were not impelled by the occasion of publishing a book for my pupils, to address some remarks particularly to them.

How much the knowledge of the Greek language, my excellent young friends, conduces to an intimate acquaintance with every part of literature, and the discipline of the understanding, I need not enforce to you; for what other motive than a conviction of this truth has induced you to place yourselves under my instruction? Now, the utility, let me assure you, is not greater than the pleasure of it; and it is as easy as it is pleasant. Do you ask me how this last can be the case, and do I find you addressing me thus;—'We are sensible, indeed, of the pleasure attending the study of it; but how can it be so easy of acquisition as you represent it? We are not able to proceed a step in any author without our Lexicons, which we are obliged to be perpetually consulting.' I know, my beloved pupils, such is your case at present; but it will not long be so. Remember the adage, which you learned in your childhood, *the root of learning is bitter, but the fruits are sweet.* You have already passed the far greater portion of the bitter part; you are now fast approaching the fruit, and will daily more and more enjoy the sweetness of it. Do not suffer the dishonor of giving up the pursuit, when the goal is just in sight. Within a little time you shall understand the Greek, with as much ease as you now read the Latin authors; nor, indeed, unless you accomplish this, would it be worth your while to have gone through the labour you have already performed. You might, indeed, have already arrived at that point, and you would by this time have possessed a more abundant and more accurate knowledge of Latin, if you had commenced the studies of your childhood with Greek instead of Latin. But, that such a practice will be adopted in public institutions is what I dare not hope for, however ardently I may desire it. I earnestly wish it may become more common in private instruction; for most certainly those, who wish to train a child from his earliest years to distinguished acquisitions in literature, ought not to dispense with it. For, to what cause is it owing, that of the great number of persons, who study Greek, so few attain to eminence in that part of learning? The labour of

youth is lost in our endeavours to correct the preposterous education of childhood, and make good the loss of past time; and there are few, who can thus compensate the loss; for almost all are in want of either leisure or zeal, or method or instructers. As to yourselves, however, so much as depends upon the instructer I will engage to do; for, though I also in my childhood was perplexed with the mistakes of an absurd education, yet, as I grew up, it was my good fortune to be brought back to the method which nature points out, and I have now employed myself for twenty-two years in the education of youth according to the same method.

First of all, it is necessary for you to know what qualifications I wish you to possess when you place yourselves under my instruction. I require but little; of that little however I cannot dispense with the smallest portion. You must have a knowledge of the Declensions and Conjugations, by having studied some of the books of Rudiments; and you must also have some knowledge of *construing** and translating Latin. Thus much is always attained in this city, by those who go from the Gymnasium to the Athenæum; and I require nothing more. After you enter upon my course of study, your duty will consist of three parts; the preparation of your exercises, attendance at school, and repetition or a review of your studies. I shall now say a few words on each of these heads.

Your *preparation* is to be conducted in this manner;—you will at home study and reflect upon those parts of authors, which are to be read at school; and, only looking out the words themselves in your Lexicon, you will search for the different parts of verbs and nouns in some compendium of grammar, or book of rudiments; for I choose this method, instead of resorting to an analytical part of a Lexicon. Having then noted down each of these, you will compose and render the meaning of the sentence in Latin. In respect to

* Some readers may not be apprised, that in the schools of the continent of Europe, the word *construe* does not, as with us, mean *to translate*, but *to arrange the words of a sentence in their proper order before rendering it.* In Germany this is a particular object of attention. I know of but one school among us in which this method has been tried, and that is the public Grammar School in a neighbouring town, where, I am informed, it is found by experience to be of manifest advantage to the pupil. TRANSLATOR.

grammars, it is hardly necessary for me to advise; they all have some errors, which, however, the master will easily correct; that of Vossius, however, will afford you sufficient assistance. In respect to Lexicons, we are much more embarrassed in making a choice;—I do not, however, find any one of them better adapted to your use than Ernesti's edition of Hedericus, which may be recommended for its moderate size, its copious list of words, and the facility of finding them. I say nothing of Scapula, Stephens, and others, because you will resort to them with advantage at a future day; for the present, that of Hedericus is more suitable for you. But I do not mean to be understood as commending that work in unqualified terms. Great, indeed, were the services which Ernesti rendered to studious youth by enriching and correcting Hedericus' work; and it would betray a want of liberality to withhold from him commendation and gratitude for what he has done, merely because he has not corrected all its faults. But I should be not less culpable, if I did not declare the truth, especially when the occasion itself, as well as the good of my pupils, demands it. Ernesti was certainly an eminent man, and was honoured with much praise; and I should think myself fortunate to obtain a very small portion of the commendation which he received. In Greek literature, he far excelled Hedericus; but he was quite as much excelled himself by the Hemsterhusiuses, the Valckenaers, the Ruhnkens, the Piersons, and the Lenneps.

Now, in the first place, as to what he professes in the title page of the work, that he had enriched it with many thousand words, he ought to have considered that such a mass was more suitable for a Thesaurus, than for a Lexicon intended for young persons. Nay, who would undertake to comprise, even in a Thesaurus, all the treasures of the Greek language? He might with more truth have said in his title,—*enriched with many thousand words; yet wanting many thousand more.* But, pray, of what sort are the words which he has thus added? Why, truly, of a sort about which nobody would be at a loss, from already knowing their roots, or the words which have an affinity with them; as, for instance, in Polybius; εμποδισμα, εμποδιστης, δυσπραγμων, παροδμημα. I do not disapprove of these additions, but they were not of so much importance as to be a subject of boasting. Who,

that reads Polybius, would not understand those words by mere use, without looking for them in a Lexicon? On the other hand, many *primitive* words are omitted, the knowledge of which is indispensable to the understanding of the rest of the language; while many *derivatives* are set down as primitives, and all notice of their origin omitted. I forbear to say any thing of his Analytical Part, which, in truth, he seems not to have touched; so foul has he left it with Schrevelius's rubbish of absurd etymologies and perplexed explanations of the parts of verbs. In my opinion, a Lexicon, that would be most useful for an intimate knowledge of the language, ought to contain not only words which are authorized by the best writers, but also, according to Hemsterhusius's plan, the primitive and simple forms of words; then those which are formed from them; and lastly, the letters and syllables which are prefixed or subjoined to them in order to augment and change the nouns and verbs. This it is, that gives such wonderful copiousness to the Greek language, and makes it, like the yielding wax, fit to receive an impression of every thing which can be conceived in the mind; the leading idea or substantial part of every word being formed and fitted to every variety of kind as well as degree, and yet preserving throughout some evident traces of its origin. Now a Lexicon of this kind might easily comprise at once the significations of the omitted words, an analytical part, and all the principles of grammar which are used in explaining the parts of the declensions and conjugations. But on this subject I shall, perhaps, have occasion to speak at another time.

I must now say something of the *preparation* of your exercises; in which if your Lexicons lead you into any mistakes I shall correct them in your recitations. Now at my lectures, you will not be silent hearers only; but you will be called upon to interpret passages of an author, and to answer such questions as I shall put to you. No one of you will fail to do this, who is desirous of making a proficiency in his studies; and of that, you will all be desirous. In this way we shall reap the benefit of the Socratic method of instruction; while I shall, at the same time, discover the genius of each one of you, and be enabled to accommodate myself to it. I shall draw out from you all your opinions, both true and false; the former I shall confirm, and the latter will be eradicated.

Every day's task will be first gone over by the elder pupils, and the succeeding day, the younger ones will repeat it; and by this method, we shall obtain such a familiar acquaintance with an author, that there will be no need of further repetition, but all the pupils will be able to interpret an author together. This is your duty. As for mine, it consists of so many particulars, that it would be endless to enumerate them; for it comprehends every thing which appertains to accurate interpretation; and as you will learn them all by actual experience, it is unnecessary, and might appear ostentatious in me, to dwell upon them in this place. To sum up the whole in a few words;—it is my endeavour to unite the useful with the agreeable, and in explaining authors, to imbue your minds with a just sense of their real beauties, and by the very pleasure of these exercises, to lead you up to the principles of the language and composition of the Greeks, as they are to be traced either in single words by means of etymologies and analogies, or as they are settled by usage in the construction of sentences.

After this part of your duty comes the task of *repetition*, or *reviewing* your studies, and this is twofold; first on the part of the master (which it is unnecessary here to explain) and secondly, on the part of the scholar;—this latter is to be continually practised at home, and has an incredible effect in assisting your progress; but it must be a real and thorough review; that is, it must be again and again repeated. What I choose is this; that every day the task of the preceding day should be reviewed; at the end of every week, the task of the week; at the end of every month, studies of the month; in addition to which this whole course should be gone over again during the vacations; for the review which is thus made in the vacations, being done more deliberately, is of the utmost efficacy in making you thorough scholars, and affords, besides, the greatest satisfaction by making you sensible of your own proficiency and inciting you to persevere in your studies. For this reason I have ever been struck with the good sense of our ancestors (among other things) in appointing vacations; which were intended by them, to give opportunity to the professor for recreation of body and mind, and to the pupils for reviewing their studies.* Therefore,

* A friend of mine, upon reading these remarks, which were written sometime ago, observed—"Your praise of our vacations comes very sea-

my estimable young friends, employ yourselves in this exercise of reviewing, and thus carry into effect the intentions of your wise ancestors. Having then during the vacation, gone over the whole of your preceding studies, you will anticipate and be prepared to meet those of the succeeding year ;— such of you, I mean, as shall again return to your studies in Greek literature. Nor will those of you, who may leave me and return home, wholly neglect in private the pursuit of this or any other part of learning, and thus commit to oblivion all your acquisitions. On the contrary, you will not fail to devote one hour, or part of an hour at least, every day, to these studies on the same plan which you have followed under me ; for there is no business of life, no avocation whatever, which will not permit a man, who has an inclination, to give a little time every day to the studies of his youth. And, in case you faithfully keep up this practice of reviewing your Greek studies, I shall, in truth, be the most empty of all boasters, if you do not in a short time acquire such a familiarity with the language, that you will be able to read Greek with just the same facility as Latin authors, or even the writers in any modern language with which you are acquainted. I can truly say, that if I have made any progress myself in Greek learning, I owe it to this practice of reviewing.

It will not be out of place here, to give you some account of my own studies; for perhaps you may be incited by my example. When I was in my eighteenth year, I had learned about as much Greek, as you generally know, after being with me four months. I diligently attended the professors, both in literature, and in the more profound parts of knowledge, as we are accustomed to speak ; but all, with very little advantage. I appeared indeed to others to have made some progress, but I did not feel sensible of it myself; I repented of my labour, and looked around for room to take a higher flight. I returned to my studies, and determined to go over them again under the guidance of my own feelings ; I did so, and, indeed, advanced in this way somewhat farther than I had done during the period of my attending the professors ; but still I accomplished nothing in comparison with my expectations, and I gave up the whole in disgust. I then

sonably to meet the late remarks of a certain Belgian author, who censures them ;' at the same time he shewed me the book. I looked at it; but saw no reason to alter what I had written. AUTHOR.

went from one study to another, but they were all alike repulsive and irksome; and yet, like one whose appetite is disordered, I was constantly seeking for some intellectual nutriment. I at length recollected the pleasure which I took, when a boy, in the study of Greek, and I began to look round for some book that I had formerly read. I took down from my shelves the little work of Plutarch on the Education of Children, and read it once. I then went through it a second time. This was truly a task, and was far from affording me any pleasure. From Plutarch I betook myself to Herodian, which gave me rather more pleasure, but still did not satisfy me. Then, as by chance, I met with a copy of Ernesti's edition of the Memorabilia of Xenophon, an author whom I had as yet known merely by name; and I was wonderfully captivated with the indescribable suavity of that author; and yet I was not so fully sensible of his excellence at this time, as I was afterwards. In reading and studying this work, I made it a rule never to begin a section without re-perusing the preceding one, nor a chapter, nor book, without going over the preceding chapter and book a second time; and finally, after having finished the work in that manner, I again read the whole in course. This was a labour of almost three months; but such constant repetition proved most beneficial to me. The effect of repetition seemed to be, that when I proceeded from a section or chapter, which I had read twice, to a new one, I acquired an impulse which bore me along through all opposing obstacles; like a vessel, (to use Cicero's comparison in a similar case,) which, having once received an impulse from the oar, continues on her course even after the mariners have suspended their exertions to propel her.

I have, therefore, constantly adhered to this practice of repeating, or reviewing. After having thus acquired some knowledge of the Greek language, and by means of Ernesti's short notes become acquainted in some measure with the principles of interpretation as well as with books, I resolved to devote myself to Greek literature; and from that time I commenced the reading of the Greek authors. I began with Homer's Iliad, of which while a boy, I had read about an hundred lines in the first book. I read it at this time in the same manner as I had done Xenophon's Memorabilia,—that is, continually repeating each portion that I studied; and I

finished the whole in two months. I regretted that I had used Schrevelius; for by following him I was led into very many errors, to correct which, afterwards cost me much time and labour.* Oh! that I had then known and enjoyed the benefit of being directed by the light of the Hemsterhusian method which is now enjoyed in the schools of Holland and is accessible also to you; and so much the more sure you may now be of making a proficiency in your studies, as your advantages are greater than mine were in my youth. But to return.

I proceeded with Homer, rather because it was necessary than because I found it agreeable; for I was not yet sensible of the powers of that divine poet. I have known other young persons experience the same thing; the cause of which I afterwards understood, but it would be tiresome here to explain it at large. I therefore took up Xenophon in conjunction with Homer, and gave the greatest portion of my time to his works, which I almost devoured;—so easy were they

* This remark must, of course, be understood as applying to the *Latin* of Schrevelius, which is undoubtedly defective, and from the *general* nature of the terms frequently employed in rendering a Greek word, will often leave a boy at a loss for the *specific English* meaning of it. But as a *Vocabulary of the Greek Language*, Schrevelius will be found to be better adapted to the use of common schools than the more copious lexicons. Knox, whose judgment in a question of practical education, is entitled to much respect, says, in his 'Liberal Education'—'Schrevelius' Lexicon is with great propriety every where used. It is particularly adapted to the Greek Testament and to Homer; and is well suited both to the beginner and to the proficient in Greek.' Since Knox wrote, this work (which has passed through above twenty editions in England) has been augmented by the English editors with a considerable number of words, which occur in the various books now used in schools; and if it were published with care in Greek and English, we might hope soon to see our young men read Greek with as much ease as they do Latin—a point in education, which is so far from being the exclusive right of a professor at a university, that even in the opinion of Lord Chesterfield (who had an abhorrence of every thing pedantic) it ought to be the aim of every accomplished gentleman. 'Pray,' says he in the most earnest manner to his son, whom he was educating for a finished gentleman, 'pray mind your *Greek* particularly; for to know Greek very well, is to be really learned: there is no great credit in knowing *Latin*, for every body knows it; and it is only a shame not to know it. Besides that, you will understand Latin a great deal the better for understanding Greek very well.' The Germans have Greek Lexicons explained in their own language, and the French have them in theirs. Why then should not we have ours also?' TRANSLATOR. We have understood, that a *Greek and English Lexicon*, was begun some time ago in this vicinity, and is now in progress. EDIT.

to me, that I was rarely obliged to use a Lexicon, for every thing was intelligible from the connexion of the sentence. I had, moreover, a Latin translation, which was of use to me at my age, but never is to boys at school.* I thus went through all the works Xenophon (except the Memorabilia) four times in four months. I now began to think there was no author that would not be easy to me; and I took up Demosthenes. I had an edition with the Greek text only, accompanied with the Greek notes of Wolfius. Alas! darkness itself! But I had learned not to be deterred on the first approach, and I preserveed. I found greater difficulties than ever, both in the words and in the extent of the orator's propositions; but, at last, after much labour I reached the end of the first Olynthiac. I then read it a second and third time, when every thing appeared clear, but still I found nothing of those powers of eloquence of which we hear so much. I doubted at this time whether I should venture upon another of his orations, or should review again the one which I had just read; I decided however to review it; and (how wonderful are the effects of this practice, which can never be sufficiently recommended!) as I read, a new and unknown feeling took possession of my mind. Hitherto in reading the Greek authors, I had experienced only that pleasure which arose from understanding their meaning and the subjects discussed by them, and from observing my own proficiency.

* I cannot forbear adding here the testimony of Knox against using translations in schools. Few men have had better opportunities or have reflected more upon the subject of education than this judicious writer, who was for a great many years an instructer himself. He says in the most decided terms—'From experience I am led to disapprove those translations, which in many schools are constantly used;' and again—'Instances have occurred to me, as they must to others, of boys who came from schools where translations were used; and who have been advanced to the higher classics with translations; but who, without those assistances, were totally ignorant of the rules of construction, and in order to make any solid improvement, were compelled to begin at the very elements of the Latin language.' The author also attributes the small number of good Greek scholars (in comparison with the Latin) to the practice of publishing Greek books with Latin translations. He then adds—'together with *translations*, I wish it were possible to banish those editions in which the *order* of construction is given on the same page with the texts.' His whole section upon this subject deserves an attentive perusal, indeed the whole of his 'incomparable Treatise on Education,' as Gilbert Wakefield justly calls it, ought to be in the hands of every parent; and I am surprised that some of our enterprising booksellers have not reprinted it. TRANSLATOR.

But in reading Demosthenes, an unusual and more than human emotion pervaded my mind and grew stronger and stronger upon every successive perusal. I could now see the orator at one time all ardour, at another, in anguish, and at another, borne away by an impulse which nothing could resist. And as I proceed, the same ardour begins to be kindled within myself, and I am carried away by the same impulse. I feel a greater elevation of soul, and am no longer the same man; I fancy that I am Demosthenes himself standing before the assembly, delivering this oration, and exhorting the Athenians to emulate the bravery and the glory of their ancestors; and now, I can no longer read the oration silently as at first, but aloud; to which I am insensibly impelled by the strength and fervour of the sentiments as well as by the power of oratorical harmony.

Pursuing this method, I read almost all the orations of Demosthenes in the course of three months; and by this means being the better qualified to understand the Grecian writers, I was more than ever delighted with Homer, and presently finished reading him; after which I occupied myself more advantageously with other authors. The next I began was Plato, with whose works I am persuaded I never should have been so much captivated, if I had not brought to them an ardour, which was ever the more ready to kindle in consequence of the excitement produced by the study of Demosthenes. There is, indeed, in Plato an exuberance and force of genius, tempered with a certain sedateness yet diversified as well as inexhaustible, which cannot fail to soften and move the most inflexible reader. In Xenophon, it is true, we see a perfect and highly wrought picture of Socrates; yet it is but a picture. But in Plato we see Socrates himself in every thing except his material form; he lives, breathes, speaks and acts; and incites the reader to participate with him in all he does. I should add, that I was wonderfully aided in understanding him by Ruhnken's observations on Timœus's Lexicon, from which I derived all that light which enabled me to perceive the powerful influence of Plato's genius throughout the world of letters. After this I proceeded to all the other classic authors of the first rank, and the philosophers and sophists of the later periods; not omitting even those of the fathers, whose writings were connected with ancient learning. This whole course of reading, from

the time I began Xenophon's Memorabilia, was accomplished in four years; and I gave an account of it in a letter to Ruhnken, informing him that he had, though without knowing me, been a guide to me in a most efficacious and sure method of study.

These particulars of myself you know I do not relate from ostentation; and you will have further evidence of it in what I am now going to state. You are probably ready to ask, what my progress was in *Latin* during the period of my Greek studies. I am ashamed to confess it: There is not one of you, who does not know a great deal more than I did. I had nothing remaining of what I had studied in my youth; for my instruction ceased when I was only fourteen years old, and I had then learned nothing of Cicero but a few chapters of his *Offices*, the study of which has been very irksome to me, from not understanding them. I had also learned Phœdrus, Curtius, Justin, and (what was the best part of my labour,) a part of Nepos' Lives, Virgil's Georgics, and half of the Æneid. Little enough indeed! But I had lost even this. Some persons used to tell me, that as I was so well acquainted with Greek, there was no need of my studying Latin; but of the folly of this I was well convinced, as you will presently be. I began with Terence; and, incredible as it may seem to you, it is literally the fact, that even Demosthenes, upon my first attempt to read him, was not more difficult than I found Terence. The labour of one month, however, rendered my progress easy. I then took up Cicero, and other authors; and, without tiring you, let me observe in a word, that in whatever Latin work I read I could trace Grecian learning throughout; both the matter, the diction, and the sentiments had only been transplanted into another soil. A single year was sufficient for my Latin course. As to my subsequent studies I need only remark, that I proceeded with less rapidity than I had done, in order that I might read thoroughly, rather than read many authors; and I never began any thing new, until I had reviewed my preceding studies, brought them to the test of criticism, and applied what was valuable to the increase of my stock of knowledge and the improvement of my mind.

Now, my intelligent pupils, why should not you be able with the assistance of an instructer, to accomplish as much as I did without one, and by my own industry alone? As-

suredly you will, and more than it was in my power to do. You must, however, bring with you a resolution to pursue your studies with constancy and perseverance; without which, even the greatest promptitude of genius in the acquisition of learning will be useless.

But, it will be said, that every body cannot devote so much time to learning, and that all do not intend to make a profession of literature as I have done; for every one is obliged to pursue some occupation, which shall yield him either profit or honour. One man is destined to be an advocate, and another, a statesman; one, to be a divine, another, a physician, and a third, a merchant; while even some, who are not preparing themselves for either of those walks of life, will content themselves with merely the ornamental part of literature. All this I expect to hear, as I have often heard it before; and it is only a repetition of the old sentiment of Neoptolemus in Ennius: 'Philosophandum est paucis; nam omnino haud placet.' For myself, I leave it to every man's own judgment to decide, what parts of knowledge he will teach, and to what extent he will pursue them; I do not address myself to strangers, nor express these opinions with a view to allure pupils to my school; but I am speaking to young men of liberal minds, who have already voluntarily made themselves my scholars, and who are of opinion, that whatever may be their lot and condition in life, this branch of learning will be both useful and ornamental to them; and therefore they have resolved to make it a part of their education. Such young men it is my duty to inform, how they may employ, to the greatest advantage, that portion of their time which they are willing to devote to these studies; and for their benefit have I published the present work.

Under these impressions, therefore, I shall not be dissatisfied with the labour I have submitted to in the present instance. For if Grecian learning is of so great moment in a liberal education, as every one acknowledges it to be; if the Greeks excelled in all the arts and in the different branches of knowledge, and have left us the most abundant means of perfecting the cultivation of the mind; if their writings are replete both with precepts to lead an enquirer to the acquisition of knowledge in things human and divine, and with examples to impress the heart with a just sense of what is laudable and decorous in our character, and to enkindle in us

the love of virtue;—if, I say, these are the advantages of studying the Grecian writers, then I shall feel no hesitation in declaring that I have accomplished a most honourable design in publishing the present work as well as in becoming an instructer in Grecian literature; and I derive the greatest and most exquisite remuneration for having carried my design into effect, in perceiving that this course of study is every day becoming an object of greater interest than ever, with youth of liberal minds. And may this ardour in the cause not merely remain as great as it now is, but go on increasing! Whatever may be the result, I shall myself enjoy the consciousness of having undertaken the honourable office of an instructer of youth, with the sincere design of being useful to the state; for such an office it is, in the opinion of so great an authority as Cicero himself; whose remarks on this subject will render it unnecessary for me to add any thing further to this preface: 'Quod enim munus (says he in Divin. II. 2.) reipublicæ afferre majus, meliusve possumus quam si docemus atque erudimus juventutem? his præsertim moribus, atque temporibus, quibus itaprolapsa est, ut omnium opibus refrenanda ac coercenda sit. Neque vero id effici posse confido, quod ne postulandum quidem est, ut omnes adolescentes se ad hæc studia convertant: pauci utinam! quorum tamen in re-publica late patere poterit industria.'

Amsterdam, November 1793.

On the Use of Trisyllabic feet in Iambic verse.

The only feet of three syllables which can be employed in English Iambics, are either those which have the two first short, and the third long, or those which have all three short —the anapest, and the tribrachys. A certain use of these feet, in that kind of verse, has been allowed from the very beginnings of English poetry. This takes place either when the two first syllables in these feet are vowels or dipthongs, as in the following instance—

To scorn | delights | and live | labo- | *rĭoŭs dāys.*

or when the letter *r*, only, is interposed between the vowels, as in the following—

And ev- | ery flower | that sad | embroid- | *ĕrў wĕar.*

or when the consonant *n* comes between the vowels, and the vowel preceding this letter is so obscurely or rapidly pronounced, as to leave it doubtful whether it may be considered as forming a distinct syllable, as in this instance.

Under | the op- | *ĕnĭng eўe-* | lids of | the morn.

Sometimes the letter *l*, in a like position, gives the poet a like liberty, as in the following example.

Wafted | the trav- | *ĕllĕr tŏ* | the beau- | tious west.

In all these cases, the three syllables were, until lately, written with a contraction which shortened them into two, and it came at length to be regarded as a rule, by most critics and authors, that no trisyllabic feet should be admitted in Iambic measure, where such a contraction was not allowed, or where the two first syllables might not, by some dexterity of pronunciation, be blended into one. This was, in effect, excluding all trisyllabic feet whatever; but they are now generally written without the contraction, and in reading poetry it is not, I believe, usually observed.

There is a freer use of trisyllabic feet in Iambic verse, of equal antiquity with the former, but which was afterwards proscribed as irregular and inharmonious, and particularly avoided by those who wrote in rhyme. I allude to all those cases where the two first syllables will not admit of a contraction, or which is nearly the same thing, refuse to coalesce in the pronunciation. These may be called pure trisyllabic feet, and the following is an example of this kind.

Impos- | tor, do | not charge | most in- | nŏcĕnt nāture.

In excluding liberties of this description, it is difficult to tell what has been gained, but it is easy to see what has been lost—the rule has been observed to the frequent sacrifice of beauty of expression, and variety and vivacity of numbers.

I think that I can show, by examples drawn from some of our best poets, that the admission of pure trisyllabic feet into Iambic verse is agreeable to the genius of that kind of measure, as well as to the habits of our language. I begin with those who have written in blank verse. The sweetest passages of Shakspeare—those which appear to have been struck out in the ecstacy of genius, and flow with that natural melody which is peculiar to him, are generally sprinkled with freedoms of this kind. Take the following specimen among

a thousand others—part of the eloquent apostrophe of Timon to gold.

> Thou ever young, fresh, loved and *delicate wooer*
> Whose blush doth thaw the consecrated snow
> That lies in Dian's lap ! thou *visible god*
> That solderest close impossibilities
> And mak'st them kiss !

Most of the older dramatists have done the same thing,—some more frequently than others,—but none appear to have avoided it with much care. I will next point to the most perfect master of poetic modulation perhaps in our language—a man to whom nature had given an exquisite ear, whose taste had been improved and exalted by a close study of the best models in the most harmonions tongues we know, and who emulated, in their own languages, the sweetness of the Latin and Italian poets. The heroic verse of Milton abounds with instances of pure trisyllabic feet. The following passage is certainly not deficient in harmony.

> And where the *river of bliss*, through midst of heaven,
> Rolls o'er Elysian flowers her amber stream,
> With these, that never fade, the *spirits elect*
> Bind their resplendent locks inwreathed with beams.

Dryden sometimes admits feet of this kind in his tragedies in blank verse, and many other dramatic poets, his contemporaries and successors, have taken the same liberty. In the celebrated work of Young, I find no instances of this sort, and it is not hard to tell the reason. Young was a profound and blind admirer of Pope, nor is it to be wondered at that he, who, at the recommendation of his friend, gave his days and nights to the study of Thomas Aquinas, as a system of divinity, should take that friend for a model in poetry. Young, in his Night Thoughts, endeavoured to do that for which, of all things, his genius least fitted him—to imitate the manner of Pope; and the consequence was that he injured the fine flow of his own imagination by violent attempts at point and an awkward sententiousness. It was like sitting the Mississippi to spout little *jets d' eau* and turn children's water-wheels. He was probably afraid to use feet of three syllables, because he did not find them in the works of his master. About this time, and for some years afterwards, the exclusion of pure

trisyllabic feet from blank verse seems to have been complete. I find no traces of them in Thompson and Dyer, nor in the heavy writings of Glover and Cumberland. Akenside's Pleasures of Imagination has been highly esteemed for the art with which the numbers are modulated, and the pauses adjusted. In this poem, as it was first written, I find no instances of the sort of which I am speaking—but when, in the maturity of his faculties, he revised, and partly wrote over the work, he seems to have been, in some measure, dissatisfied with that versification which the world had praised so much. In looking over this second draught of his work, I have noted the following deviations from his former practice.

> Furies which curse the earth, and make the blows,
> The heaviest blows, of nature's *innocent hand*
> Seem sport—
> I checked my prow and thence with eager steps,
> The *city of Minos* entered—
> But the chief
> Are poets, *eloquent men*, who dwell on earth.

Armstrong has given us some examples of a similar license in versification, Cowper's Task abounds with them, and they may be frequently found in the blank verse of some of our latest poets.

In accompanying me in the little retrospect which I have taken of the usage of our poets who have written in blank verse, I think the reader must be convinced, that there is something not incompatible with the principles of English versification, nor displeasing to an unperverted taste, in a practice, that in spite of rules and prejudices, is continually showing itself in the works of most of our sweetest and most valued poets, which prevailed in the best age of English poetry, and has now returned to us endeared by its associations with that venerable period. I will not here multiply examples to show how much it may sometimes improve the beauty of the numbers. I will only refer the reader to those already laid before him. I do not believe that he would be contented to exchange any of the words marked in the quotations which I have made, for tame Iambics, could it ever be done by the use of phrases equally proper and expressive. For my part, when I meet with such passages, amidst a dead waste of dissyllabic feet, their spirited irregularity refreshes

and relieves me, like the sight of eminences and forests breaking the uniformity of a landscape.

If pure trisyllabic feet are allowed in blank verse, it would seem difficult to give any good reason why they should not be employed in rhyme. If they have any beauty in blank verse they cannot lose it merely because the ends of the lines happen to coincide in sound. The distinction between prose and verse is more strongly marked in rhymes than in blank verse, and the former therefore stands less in need than the latter, of extreme regularity of quantity, to make the distinction more obvious. Besides, the restraint which rhyme imposes on the diction is a good reason why it should be freed from any embarrassments which cannot contribute to its excellence. But whatever may be the reasons for admitting trisyllabic feet into Iambic rhyme, it is certain that most of our rhyming poets, from the time of Dryden, have carefully excluded them.

Spenser's verse is harmonious—but its harmony is of a peculiar kind. It is a long-drawn, diffuse, redundant volume of music, sometimes, indeed, sinking into languor, but generally filling the ear agreeably. His peculiar dialect has been called the Doric of the English language. I would rather call it the Ionic. It delights in adding vowels and resolving contractions, and instead of shortening two syllables into one, it often dilates one syllable into two. It is not in Spenser, therefore, that we are to look for frequent examples of pure trisyllabic feet in Iambic verse. They have an air of compression not well suited to the loose and liquid flow of his numbers. Yet he has occasionally admitted them, and without any apparent apprehension that he was sinning against propriety, for by a little variation of phrase he might have avoided them. In turning over his Fairy Queen, I meet, without any very laborious search, the following instances.

Unweeting of the *perĭloŭs* wāndering ways.
The sight whereof so *thoroŭghlў hĭm* dismayed.
That still it breathed forth sweet *spirĭt ănd* whōlesome smell.
When oblique Saturn state *ĭn thĕ hoūse* of agonies.

That Milton did not think the use of these feet in rhyme, incompatible with correct versification, is evident from the following passages in his Lycidas—no unworthy or hasty effort of his genius.

Fame is the spur that the clear *spĭrĭt dŏth rāise.*
Oh, fountain *Ărĕthŭse!* *ănd* thou, honoured flood,
Smooth-sliding Mincius—
To all that wander in that *perĭloŭs flōod.*

Cowley employed pure trisyllabic feet in Iambics without scruple. Waller and Denham sometimes admitted them, but Dryden and his successors rigidly excluded them; or when in too great haste to do this, disguised them by some barbarous and almost unpronouncable elision. Pope, in one of his earlier poems, has an instance of this sort.

The courtier's learning, policy o' th' gown.

Who, at this day, would attempt to pronounce this line as it is written? I have observed some instances of pure trisyllabic feet in Garth's Dispensary; and a few even occur, at remote distances, to break the detestable monotony of Darwin's Iambics.

Some of our latest modern poets in rhyme have restored the old practice, and, as I think, with a good effect. Will the reader forgive me for setting before him an example of this kind, from one of those authors—an admirable specimen of representative versification?

Alone Mokanna, midst the general flight,
Stands, like the red moon in some stormy night,
Among the *fugitive clouds* that hurrying by
Leave only her unshaken in the sky.

Here the anapest in the third line quickens the numbers, and gives additional liveliness to the image which we receive of the rapid flight of the clouds over the face of heaven.

The liberty for which I have been contending, has often been censured and ridiculed. The utmost favour which it has, at any time, to my knowledge, received from the critics, is to have been silently allowed—no one has openly defended it. It has not been my aim to mark its limits or to look for its rules. I have only attempted to show that it is an ancient birthright of the poets, and ought not to be given up.

Quarterly List of American Publications.

Biography.

Memoirs of the Life and Campaigns of the Hon. Nathaniel Greene, Major General in the army of the United States, and Commander of the southern department in the war of the Revolution. By Charles Caldwell, M. D. 8vo. Philadelphia.

History.

A History of the United States before the Revolution, with some account of the Aborigines. By Ezekiel Sanford. 8vo. pp. 532. Philadelphia. 1819.

Natural History.

An Analysis of the Mineral Waters of Saratoga and Ballston, with observations on the geology and mineralogy of the surrounding country. By John H. Steel, M. D. Second Edit. improved. Saratoga.

Outlines of Botany, taken chiefly from Smith's Introduction; containing an Explanation of Botanical Terms, and an Illustration of the system of Linnæus. Also some Account of Natural Orders, and the Aantomy and Physiology of Vegetables. Illustrated by Engravings. For the use of schools and students. By Dr. John Locke, Lecturer on Botany, 12mo. pp. 162. $1,25. Boston.

American Medical Botany, with coloured engravings. Royal 8vo. Vol. II. Part II. By Jacob Bigelow, M. D. Rumford Professor, and Lecturer on Materia Medica in Harvard University. $3.50. Boston.

Law.

Rules for regulating the practice of several of the Courts in Pennsylvania. Collected by one of the profession, and revised by the Judges. $1.00. Philadelphia.

Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Court of Chancery of the States of South Carolina, and in the Court of Appeals in Equity. By Henry William Desaussure. Vol. IV. Charleston.

New Vade Mecum, or a Pocket Companion for Lawyers, Deputy Sheriffs, and Constables in New Hampshire. 75 cts. Concord.

Report of the Case of the Trustees of Dartmouth College against William H. Woodward, argued and determined in the Superior Court of New Hampshire, and on error in the Supreme

Court of the United States. By Timothy Farrar, Counsellor at Law. 8vo. pp. 406. $3. Portsmouth, N. H.

Medicine.

Statement of Improvements in the Theory and Practice of Medicine. By Thomas Ewell, M. D. $1.50. Philadelphia.

A Materia Medica of the United States, systematically arranged. By William Zollichoffer, M. D. $1. Baltimore.

Theology.

A Sermon delivered at the Ordination of the Rev. Jared Sparks, to the pastoral care of the First Independent Church in Baltimore, May 5, 1819. By Rev. William Ellery Channing. 8vo. 25 cts. Baltimore.

Same work, other editions, Baltimore, Boston and Springfield.

A Sermon delivered in Petersham, June 23, 1819, at the Installation of Rev. Luther Willson. By Aaron Bancroft, D. D. Worcester.

Moral Agency, or Natural Ability consistent with Moral Inability, being Remarks on an Essay on the Inability of Sinners. 25 cts. Philadelphia.

Letters to the Rev. Wm. E. Channing, containing Remarks on his Sermon, recently preached and published at Baltimore. By Moses Stuart, Associate Professor of Sacred Literature. 8vo. pp. 168. 75 cts. Andover.

Same work, corrected and enlarged. 8vo. pp. 180. 75 cts. Andover.

The Gospel Church Vindicated by the Scriptures. By Daniel Merrill, A. M. Pastor of the Church in Nottingham west, N. H. 50 cts. Concord, N. H.

Inaugural Discourse delivered before the University in Cambridge, Aug. 10, 1819. By Andrews Norton, Dexter Professor of Sacred Literature. 8vo. pp. 48. 37½ cts. Cambridge.

A Sermon delivered in Boston at the Ordination of the Rev. John Pierpont. By Henry Ware, D. D. Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard University. First and Second Editions. 8vo. pp. 24. 20 cts. Cambridge.

Poetry.

The Frantic Maid, or a Tale of Wyoming, a Poem in five cantos. Philadelphia.

A Poem on the Mineral Waters of Ballston and Saratoga, with Notes. New York.

Poems by Croaker, Croaker & Co. and Croaker, jr. as published in the Evening Post. 25. cts. New York.

Battle of Niagara. Second Edit. enlarged; with other Poems. By John Neal. 12mo. pp. 272. $1.25. Baltimore.

Miscellaneous.

A Letter to Thomas Brande, Esq. on the practicability and propriety of a Resumption of Specie Payments. By Errick Bollman, M. D. 50 cts. Philadelphia.

An Eulogy delivered in Christ's Church in Boston, June 8, 1819, at the request of St. John's Lodge, on Shubael Bell, Esq. By Samuel L. Knapp. 20 cts. Boston.

Speeches of the Governors of Massachusetts, from 1765 to 1775, and Answers of the House of Representatives to the same, with their Resolutions and Addresses, and other public papers relating to the dispute between Great Britain and this country. 8vo. pp. 424. Boston.

A History of New York, from the beginning of the world to the end of the Dutch dynasty. By Diedrich Knickerbocker. Third edit. 12mo. 2 vols. $3.50. Philadelphia.

The Moral Instructer, and Guide to Virtue and Happiness. By Jesse Torrey. 12mo. pp. 228. $1. Saratoga, N. H.

The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent. 8vo. No. 1. 75 cts. and No. 2. 62½ cts. New York.

An Essay on the Necessity of Improving our National Forces. By W. T. W. Tone. 50 cts. Philadelphia.

Letters from Asia. Written by a gentleman of Boston. 37½ cts. New York.

A Voyage to South America, performed by order of the American Government in the years 1817 and 1818, in the frigate Congress. By H. M. Breckenridge, Esq. Secretary to the Mission. Vol. 1. Baltimore.

Novanglus, and Massachusettensis ; or Political Essays, published in the years 1774 and 1775, on the principal points of controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies. The former by John Adams, late President of the United States. The latter by Jonathan Sewall, the King's Attorney General of the province of Massachusetts Bay. To which are added a number of Letters, lately written by President Adams, to the Hon. William Tudor ; some of which were never before published. 8vo. pp. 312. Boston.

An Oration in celebration of Independence, delivered at Boston, July 5, 1819. By Franklin Dexter, Esq. Boston.

An Oration in celebration of Independence, delivered at Boston, July 5, 1819. By Samuel A. Welles, Esq. Boston.

The Diverting History of John Bull and Brother Jonathan. Third edit. 12mo. 75 cts. Philadelphia.

She would be a Soldier, or the Plains of Chippewa, a Historical Drama in three acts. By Moses M. Noah, Esq. 25 cts. New York.